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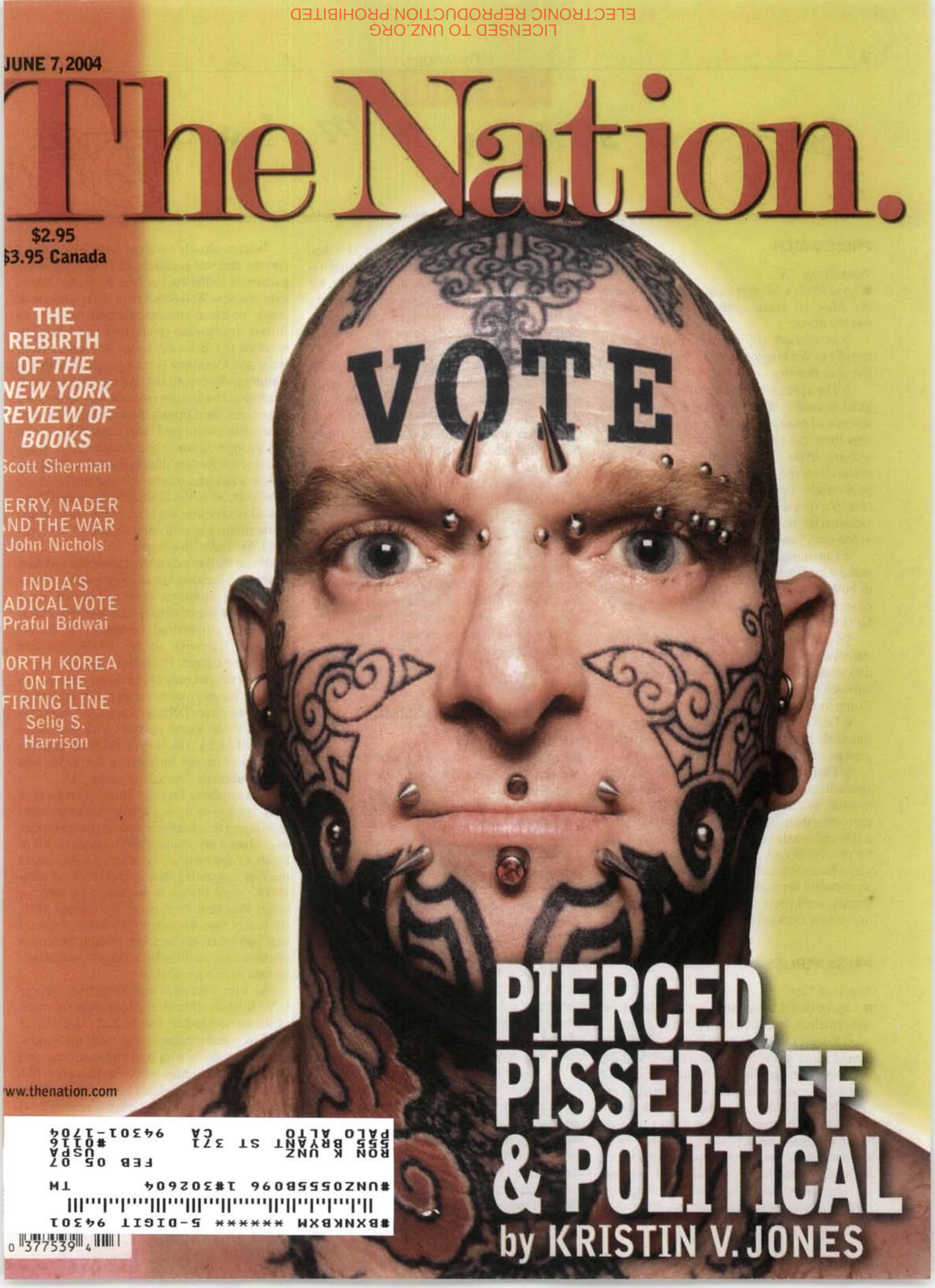

PIERCED, PISSED-OFF & POLITICAL

by KRISTIN V. JONES

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LETTERS

R. O. BLECHMAN

PRESS WATCH

Washington, DC

■ Eyal Press's biographical article on me in the May 10 issue contains several errors, mostly minor:

§ *In the Path of God* was finished before I arrived in Washington in 1982, not while I was living in that city.

§ The conclusion that I produced "little original research" after 1983 perhaps reflects the absence of most of my (as yet undigitized) writings from that era on www.danielpipes.org, my website, where Press apparently did most of his research on me—and not an actual paucity of publications. I published during those years, for example, on such topics as "Mamluk Survival in Ottoman Egypt," "The Rise of the Sa'di Dynasty in Morocco" and "Syria's Imperial Dream."

§ I am misquoted about not ever having been to the West Bank and Gaza. I repeatedly traveled in both areas between 1969 and 1996. Among other destinations, I visited Yasir Arafat in his Gaza office.

§ I did not say that *Militant Islam Reaches America* was "unpublishable" before 9/11, only that some of the articles in it were unpublishable before then—notably Chapter 11, "We Are Going to Conquer America."

§ I did not complain about Muslim hygienic standards in my 1990 *National Review* article; I paraphrased French politicians on this topic.

§ That several "dissenting Middle Eastern specialists...received hate mail and death threats" as a result of Campus Watch's or my critiquing them has yet to be established. Over a one-and-a-half-year period, I repeatedly asked for proof that such mail was received and have yet to be shown a single example. While I unequivocally denounce all hate mail and death threats, until proof is forthcoming I am skeptical about their existence in this case.

DANIEL PIPES

PRESS REPLIES

New York City

■ I agree that these matters are mostly minor. Nevertheless, I address each point in order:

§ Robert Dickson Crane, who worked with Daniel Pipes in the State Department, told me that Pipes was working on *In the Path of God* in the office they shared in Washington in the early 1980s. I'll leave it to them to work out.

§ I stand by my claim that Pipes produced "little original research" after 1983. His voluminous output since then consists overwhelmingly of interpretive essays and op-eds on topical subjects, not original scholarship, along with books that rely mostly on secondary rather than archival sources.

§ In our tape-recorded interview, I asked Pipes whether he'd visited the occupied territories recently; he said no. "At all?" I asked. He answered, "Not a friendly place, no." Evidently, he meant he had not visited the territories recently at all, as opposed to ever. My apologies for the misunderstanding.

§ A November 29, 2001, profile of Pipes in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* quotes him describing the manuscript of his book on Muslims in America as "unpublishable" before 9/11.

§ Pipes understandably wishes to distance himself from the remark about Muslim hygienic standards. Yet there were no quotes around the views he claims to have been paraphrasing, and in the preceding sentence he wrote that such fears have "substance."

§ Juan Cole told me he received hate mail after being singled out by Pipes, and that his e-mail was flooded with spam. Hamid Dabashi, a professor at Columbia, went further, playing for me taped phone messages he had received. "You stinking Muslim terrorist pig. You terrorist bastard," said one caller. "Listen, you Muslim terrorist bastard, we're watching you. We know where you live. We know where you work," said another.

EYAL PRESS

DREW, A HASTY CONCLUSION?

Litchfield, Conn.

■ Thanks to *The Nation* for Elizabeth Drew's March 1 "Bush Family Values," a review of my book *American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush*. I would take some issue, however, with one of her points: that I was "wrong" on George W. Bush's relations with the CIA. In fact, I barely discussed them, because when the book went to the printers in October 2003, the "weapons of mass destruction" issue and role of US intelligence was still hanging fire.

But knowing what we now know, the Bush family's relationship to the US intelligence community going back four generations should have been bifurcated more than I did. On one hand, they have entwined with it in their ascent to power; on the other, they have periodically abused these connections. George W. Bush has more than once fallen into the second category.

By way of background, in the early twentieth century munitions and oil were the two private Anglo-American industries most involved with international cloak-and-dagger games. Compared with their resources and tentacles, government intelligence services were small-scale through the 1930s. Both the current President's two great-grandfathers, investment banker George Herbert Walker and Buckeye Steel president Samuel P. Bush, had relevant connections.

Walker, closely involved with World War I finance and war contracts, in 1919 became the partner of Union Pacific heir W. Averell Harriman in a new Wall Street firm. They undertook major postwar investments and projects in Russia (manganese production and refurbishment of the Baku oil fields 400 miles from Iraq) and Germany (in conjunction with the Hamburg-America Line and the Thyssen steel interests). The US government was sometimes suspicious. Sam Bush's Buckeye Steel, in turn, was partly owned by Frank Rockefeller (John D.'s younger brother) and Standard Oil. Bush doubled his fortune during the war—Buckeye products included gun barrels and shell casings. Moreover, after the United States entered the war, Bush became the head of the small arms, ammunition and ordnance section of the (federal) War Industries Board.

When Walker's daughter Dottie married Sam Bush's son Prescott, the union joined two families whose elevation onto a national stage reflected the rise of what Eisenhower later called the military-industrial complex. At Brown Brothers Harriman in the 1930s, Prescott Bush—the current President's grandfather—was a partner not only of Harriman, later the US Mutual Security Administrator, but of Robert Lovett, the future Defense Secretary. Lovett also captained the secret postwar team that blueprinted the CIA. The lawyer that Bush used for the firm's German business in the 1930s was Allen Dulles, the future head of the CIA.

In a nutshell, Prescott Bush's son George H.W. Bush grew up in a family in which cloak-and-dagger relationships were as matter-of-fact as oil-based tax shelters and high-yield utility bonds. Chapter 6 of my book sets out the various theories suggesting that in the 1950s or early 1960s—long before he became CIA director under President Ford in 1976—George H.W. Bush may have become a CIA asset of sorts. I won't go into them here, but I would have been interested to see Elizabeth Drew's own observations on this possibility.

As Vice President and President, George H.W. Bush continued to concentrate on much of the subject matter that he had dealt with at the CIA—secret relationships with the Saudis, secret arms deals with Iran and even Iraq, and ongoing relationships with swashbucklers like Oliver North and a cadre of Iran/*contra* culprits (some reappointed to office in the second Bush administration). If this issues complex was one of the forty-first President's major credentials and career escalators, it was also a connection that lent itself to periodic abuse.

It has been alleged, for example, that Bush Senior took part in the supposed "October Sur-

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EDITORIALS

Orders to Torture

The Abu Ghraib prison scandal now implicates the highest levels of the Bush Administration in violating federal law and in war crimes. In barely two weeks, the story has shifted from horrific photographs of prisoners to intimations of homicide; from prison mismanagement blamed on the fog of war to the cool clarity of deliberate White House designs to protect torturers from prosecution; from "the six morons who lost the war" to the Defense Secretary, the White House Counsel and the President himself.

The sheer range of brutality and illegal acts defies brief summary. And more details emerge daily: On the *Nation* website, Jason Vest reveals possible perjury by Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence Stephen Cambone, while according to Seymour Hersh in *The New Yorker*, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld personally approved a secret "special-access program" for incarceration, humiliation and violent interrogation, expanding the program from a narrow group of presumed Al Qaeda prisoners in Afghanistan to the insurgency in Iraq.

One revelation in particular should be sounding a constitutional emergency siren: The President has known for more than two years that his Administration has been pursuing policies that could qualify as war crimes under federal and international law. In a January 25, 2002, memo, White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales advised the President of "the threat of domestic criminal prosecution under the War Crimes Act," a federal statute. He advised Bush to invent a legal technicality—declaring detainees in the "war on terror" to be outside the Geneva Conventions—which, he said, "substantially reduces" the chance of prosecution. Gonzales went further, telling the President that the war on terrorism "renders obsolete Geneva's strict limitations on questioning of enemy prisoners"; he pooh-poohed concerns that abandoning the Geneva standards might endanger US troops.

Let's be clear about what this means: Gonzales was urging—and the President adopted as policy—an end run around federal laws. The War Crimes Act, passed by Congress in 1996, allows criminal prosecution of Americans for actions that violate the rights granted prisoners and civilians by the Geneva Conventions and for "outrages upon personal dignity." It is backed by the full range of federal penalties, up to and including the death penalty. And all treaties, including the Geneva Conventions and the Torture Convention, are likewise the binding law of the land.

From the Gonzales memo, it is clear that the Administration always envisioned taking coercive interrogation beyond Afghanistan. Gonzales repeatedly refers to the broader "war on terrorism"—the phrase Bush uses to cover the war on Iraq. Gonzales specifically advises the President to hold open "options for future conflicts." Thus the scandal is not what George W. Bush referred to as the "failures of character" of a few soldiers at Abu Ghraib. The scandal is that the White House wanted to torture prisoners and get away with it.

The damage wrought by this sweeping two-year conspiracy to perpetrate and cover up illegal brutality is impossible to calculate. Certainly, it undoes decades of military leaders' efforts to prevent future My Lais. The intelligence gathering itself was compromised: Prisoners treated like those in Abu Ghraib will confess to anything. The occupation of Iraq has turned out to be a morally corrosive imperial adventure.

The evidence emerging from Abu Ghraib reveals high crimes and misdemeanors in the precise sense of the Constitution's impeachment clause. In an election year and with the GOP controlling Congress, that course is foreclosed, for now. But two years of willful subversion of law and human rights, which began in the Oval Office and led to Abu Ghraib, demands far more vigorous investigation than the queasy Congressional inquiries thus far conducted, as well as criminal prosecutions independent of this Attorney General. Such subversion demands, too, that Americans, bewildered and demoralized by the scenes from Abu Ghraib and the failed Iraq war, recover their sense of outrage—and exercise that outrage in the street and in the voting booth.

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COMMENT

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Kerry's Nader Problem

ELECTION MATTERS

By identifying himself as an antiwar candidate seeking the rapid withdrawal of US troops from Iraq, and by using his still considerable media skills to spread the word about his stance, Ralph Nader has given his presidential candidacy a boost that ought to be noted by Democratic strategists. Among recent polls that have detected movement in his direction is one taken in early May by the Associated Press and appearing under the headline, "Bush down, Kerry no gain." It showed Nader winning the support of 7 percent of those surveyed—more than double the 2.7 percent he won in 2000 as the Green Party candidate and his best showing so far this year. "This is Nader's moment," says University of Minnesota political scientist Larry Jacobs, who tracks third-party politics. "Suddenly, his sails are filling out."

In truth, Nader is still having trouble floating his boat, but he's giving evidence that there may be political potency in an antiwar stance that articulates the growing frustration with George W. Bush and his war. It remains to be seen whether Nader's stronger than expected position, particularly among young voters, will aid the efforts of peace activists pressing Kerry to develop a message that appeals to people who want out of Iraq. The presumptive Democratic nominee is still trying to lie low on the issue, hoping to gain the support of Americans, antiwar or not, who reach the conclusion that Bush has so mismanaged the occupation that he has to go. But Nader characterizes Kerry's current line on the war—"we do not have the choice to pick up and leave"—as "the exact position needed not to get any [new] votes on the issue."

Nader seemed to be going nowhere fast in the first stages of his independent campaign, when he reprised his 2000 rhetoric. But a couple of weeks into April, the month that would see more American deaths in Iraq than any since the war began, he condemned the "stay the course" rhetoric of the Bush and Kerry camps and declared, "The way to save US and Iraqi lives and reverse the escalating spiral of violence is for the United States to go back home." Nader praised Kerry's emphasis on multilateralism while dismissing Bush as a "messianic militarist." Still, his most devastating comment was a shot at Kerry: "I wish he would just repeat what he said when he was 27 years old before the Senate, which is: How do you tell a soldier to die for a mistake?"

Nader's antiwar enthusiasm is viewed cynically by some, who note that he was a no-show at major antiwar rallies last year. And it has not inspired much excitement among the organized antiwar community. Eli Pariser, who has been at the center of MoveOn.org's antiwar work, says he sees "unanimity behind Kerry" among the online activist community's members. Robert Borosage, co-director of the Campaign for America's Future, says while he hears "a lot of murmuring" on Kerry's war stance, "Bush unifies progressives on Kerry the way Clinton unified conservatives."

Yet Nader's numbers have improved in several polls taken since he began highlighting his antiwar views: He's up from 3 percent to 6 percent in a *Washington Post*/ABC News survey, and as high as 8 percent in polls out of battleground states New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. Perhaps more significant, Nader garnered 12 per-

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cent among likely voters under 30 surveyed by *Newsweek*. And, yes, Nader is drawing disproportionately from voters who rank Kerry, not Bush, as their second choice.

Kerry's "got a Nader problem," says David Cortright, a fellow at Notre Dame's Institute for International Peace Studies. And the problem could get worse as mainstream antiwar groups that are part of the Win Without War coalition move to embrace a call for withdrawal from Iraq. Although many prominent activists from groups associated with the coalition say they plan to vote for Kerry, any talk about a timeline for extracting US troops highlights the fact that neither Bush nor Kerry has one.

All of this might have been academic were it left to Nader and his organizationally challenged campaign. In Oregon, where Nader won almost 80,000 votes in 2000, an initial attempt to secure quick ballot access failed, so his campaign now must launch an arduous signature-collection drive. In Texas, where Nader won almost 140,000 votes in 2000, his campaign didn't gather enough signatures to secure an independent ballot line. In fairness to Nader, barriers to ballot access in many states are unreasonable. But, so far this year, he has had trouble getting on ballots in states where he ran best in 2000.

Still, Nader may yet find his way onto the state ballot lines of at least two parties. What is left of the Reform Party, which served as a vehicle for Ross Perot's campaigns, endorsed Nader in early May, giving him access to ballot lines in seven states, including the battle zones of Florida and Michigan. Nader sought the Reform endorsement despite the fact that he has some differences with the party, which backed Pat Buchanan in 2000 and still includes some activists who are more Buchananite than Naderite on issues such as immigration. And Nader is likely to reach for more lines from the Green Party, which has ballot status in almost two dozen states, including California and swing states like Oregon, Wisconsin, Minnesota and New Mexico. Nader told the Greens last year that he wouldn't seek their nomination, but he remains in the running for the party's endorsement when it holds its convention in June. Several stand-in candidates, including former California gubernatorial contender Peter Camejo, have collected delegates with the goal of endorsing—or perhaps even nominating—Nader.

There will be opposition to such a move: Lawyer David Cobb, who helped get Nader on the Texas ballot in 2000, is running an energetic campaign for the nomination. Cobb argues that in order to build the Green alternative for the long term, the party should nominate an actual Green, not an independent who has frequently been at odds with party activists. In addition, some Greens argue against backing any candidate this year on the theory that they don't want to be seen as spoilers in a Kerry-Bush race. But if Nader makes a serious play for Green support, says party co-chair Ben Manski, he might get it. If he is merely endorsed, Nader could still fail to get on all the party's ballot lines, because some states require that a candidate be officially nominated rather than endorsed, and because some state parties might balk at giving their lines to someone who has an arm's length relationship with the party. But the more Nader reaches out to his old allies, Manski says, the better his prospects will be for getting Green support and most of the ballot lines. "He is either going to have to negotiate with us or with Kerry," is his view. In the case of the Greens, that would involve mending fences and committing the party to a full-scale campaign. In Kerry's case, it's a more complex calculation.

Nader and Kerry have had conversations over the past year, and they talked again recently about what both describe as a mutual desire for regime change at home. Some Kerry backers are pushing him, in the words of Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm, to "resolve whatever issues that Nader believes he's got on his plate so that he could join the Kerry team." But it is hard to imagine a negotiation that would lead to the result seen recently in South Dakota, where a Native American challenger dropped an independent bid and endorsed Senate minority leader Tom Daschle after Daschle agreed to focus more attention on issues of concern to the state's Indian voters.

Nader no longer suggests that there is no difference between Republicans and Democrats, but he remains frustrated with the Democrats' caution on issues ranging from corporate corruption to the war. At best, there might be a deal to have Nader avoid campaigning in battleground states, but that would sour relations with the Reform and Green parties. More likely, Nader's biggest impact will be to strengthen the hand of Kerry backers—and antiwar activists—who want the Democrat to develop some kind of Iraq exit strategy. Kerry's been promising to "make it unnecessary for [voters] to support Ralph Nader." He could start by stealing a little of Nader's antiwar thunder.

JOHN NICHOLS

Outsourcing Is Hell

The war on Iraq has made us all painfully aware of the Pentagon's growing reliance on private companies. Commercial firms have been hired to do everything from cooking meals to interrogating prisoners to providing security for US proconsul Paul Bremer. Peter Singer of the Brookings Institution estimates that for every ten troops on the ground in Iraq, there is one contract employee. That translates to 10,000 to 15,000 contract workers, making them the second-largest contingent (between America and Britain) of the "coalition of the willing."

Military outsourcing is nothing new. The latest wave of military privatization started in the first Bush Administration, when Defense Secretary Cheney asked Halliburton to study what it would cost to have a private company take charge of getting US forces overseas in a hurry. Halliburton was hired to do just that in Soma-

NATION NOTES

Katha Pollitt has been named the Charles Lawrence Keith Fellow at the Nation Institute. Pollitt won the 2002 National Magazine Award for Columns and Commentary for her *Nation* column, "Subject to Debate," which began ten years ago. The fellowship, established to advance the public conversation on gender equality, sexuality and civil liberties, was made possible by the generous support of the Charles L. Keith and Clara Miller Foundation of New York.

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COMMENT

lia, employing 2,500 people. The Clinton Administration picked up where Bush/Cheney left off, hiring Halliburton—then run by Cheney—as the logistics arm for the war in Kosovo. Halliburton's contract started out as a $180 million deal but soon mushroomed to more than $2.5 billion as the company built Camp Bondsteel and other military facilities on lavish, cost-plus terms.

The 1990s military outsourcing boom was driven by a combination of practicality and ideology. With post–cold war troop strength dropping from 2.1 million to 1.4 million, there was a certain logic to contracting out nonmilitary functions like laundry and meals, to free soldiers for strictly military duties. But the urge to privatize soon expanded to include anything and everything, up to and including hiring former Green Berets and Navy SEALs for serious security and training functions.

The "privatize first, ask questions later" mentality has led to the situation we face now in Iraq, where private companies are performing front-line military functions ranging from providing security to the Coalition Provisional Authority (Blackwater) to training the new Iraqi army (Vinnell) to protecting oil pipelines (Erinys) to interrogating prisoners (CACI).

Before the 1990s privatization push, private firms had periodically been used in lieu of US forces to run covert military policies outside the view of Congress and the public. Examples range from Air America, the CIA's secret air arm in Vietnam, to the use of Southern Air Transport to run guns to Nicaragua in the Iran/*contra* scandal. What we are seeing now in Iraq is the overt use of private companies side by side with US forces. But many of the same issues of democratic accountability and military effectiveness (or more often lack thereof) hold true, whether the use of the companies is overt or covert.

There is a reason that governments have historically maintained a monopoly over the use of force. Allowing private companies into the mix interferes with the ability of citizens to hold their government accountable for when and how force is used. The role of CACI in the torture scandal at Abu Ghraib prison is only the latest example of this problem. The Army's internal investigation of abuses there singled out a CACI employee, alleging that he had been involved in directing some of the incidents for which Army reservists are now facing courts-martial. But this man has neither been brought out of Iraq nor brought up on criminal charges because military contractors are not subject to the code of military justice, and their status under US criminal law is vague.

Other problems of accountability abound. A top Army logistics officer reported last summer that in large parts of Iraq troops were not receiving fresh food and water because contractors were refusing to go into danger zones. When Vinnell was hired for $48 million to train the initial elements of the new Iraqi army, Steven Rosenfeld reported for TomPaine.com that the firm botched the job so badly that reinforcements had to be called in from the Jordanian army and other contractors. The contract was not renewed.

The Vinnell case is the exception. More often, private contractors "fail upward." Take Halliburton. Despite overcharging for gasoline it brought to Iraq from Kuwait, charging for three times as many meals as it was serving to troops and taking millions of dollars in kickbacks, the company continues to get new contracts. (Press reports suggest that Halliburton could take in up to $18 billion from its work in Iraq alone.) So much for accountability.

Key members of Congress have started to press for action on this issue. Representative Jan Schakowsky has called for an end to US funding of private military contractors in Colombia, which have been involved in combat and implicated in civilian massacres in that nation's decades-long civil war. More recently, Schakowsky has called for the suspension of all contracts with private military firms involved in the supervision, security or interrogation of prisoners in Iraq. In early April, Senator Jack Reed and twelve colleagues wrote a letter to Defense Secretary Rumsfeld questioning the use of private security contractors on the front lines in Iraq,

(Continued on Page 22)

CALVIN TRILLIN

THE COALITION AUTHORITY EXPLAINS DEMOCRACY TO THE IRAQI PEOPLE

We'll give you back the country soon.
Your leaders at the end of June
Will be there democratically.
We'll let you know soon who they'll be.

Democracy is on the way.
We smashed this place to free it.
Democracy is on the way.
You'll know it when you see it.

Your press is free forever, but
The papers we were forced to shut
Should know, when all is said and done,
It's free, though not for everyone.

Democracy is on the way.
We smashed this place to free it.
Democracy is on the way.
You'll know it when you see it.

A person's treatment post arrest
Can be democracy's true test—
Though, sometimes, soldiers are unkind,
Because... that is... oh, never mind.

Democracy is on the way.
We smashed this place to free it.
Democracy is on the way.
You'll know it when you see it.

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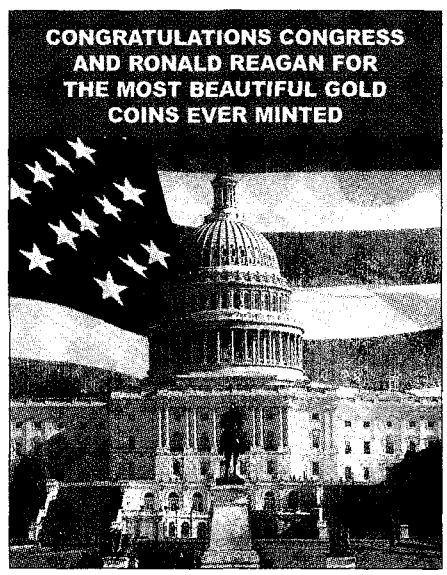

U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

By executive order of Ronald Reagan and Congress Public Law 99-185, Americans can now buy new Government Issued Gold. Where once restricted as a nation, Ronald Reagan opened the doors for everyone to purchase Gold and create security within their financial portfolios. In today's volatile economic environment it is very important for all Americans to own Gold. The Gold Eagles' design features a moving tribute to the unity of the American family, in which a male eagle, soars above a female eagle that is nesting with her newborns. Thank you to Ronald Reagan, one of the greatest presidents of all time, for the Gold American Eagle program.

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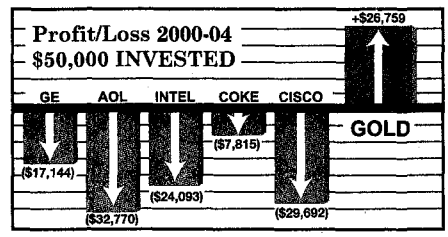

STOCKS VS. GOLD

Trusting your financial future to the stock market's performance has been a lose-lose situation for the past 5 years. In fact, the above graph clearly shows that $50,000 worth of Cisco Systems stock purchased in July 2000 is now worth only $20,308; a 3 1/2 year loss of $29,692. $50,000 worth of Gold purchased in July 2000, however, is today worth $76,759 – a profit of $26,759. Gold has outperformed and outpaced legendary stock giants like GE, AOL, Intel, and even Coca-Cola. The Gold Market is on the move and is showing signs of taking off like a rocket. Many experts can offer excellent insight into the future price trends of Gold, but no one, including The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve, can guarantee a Gold Coin's future value will go up or down. Do not wait to move your hard earned money into Gold.

WHY TO BUY GOLD NOW

- **Gold has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past five years in a row.**
- **Smart individuals are moving 20-30% of their assets into U.S. Gov't Gold Coins.**
- **This is a once in a lifetime opportunity to buy U.S. Gov't Gold coins at cost.**
- **$50,000 in U.S. Gov't Gold Coins could be worth up to $250,000 in the future.**
- **With the National Debt at $7 Trillion and rising, Gold has an upside potential that has not been seen since the 1980's.**
- **A limit of 10 U.S Gov't Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Order immediately to avoid disappointment. Offer may be withdrawn at any time.**
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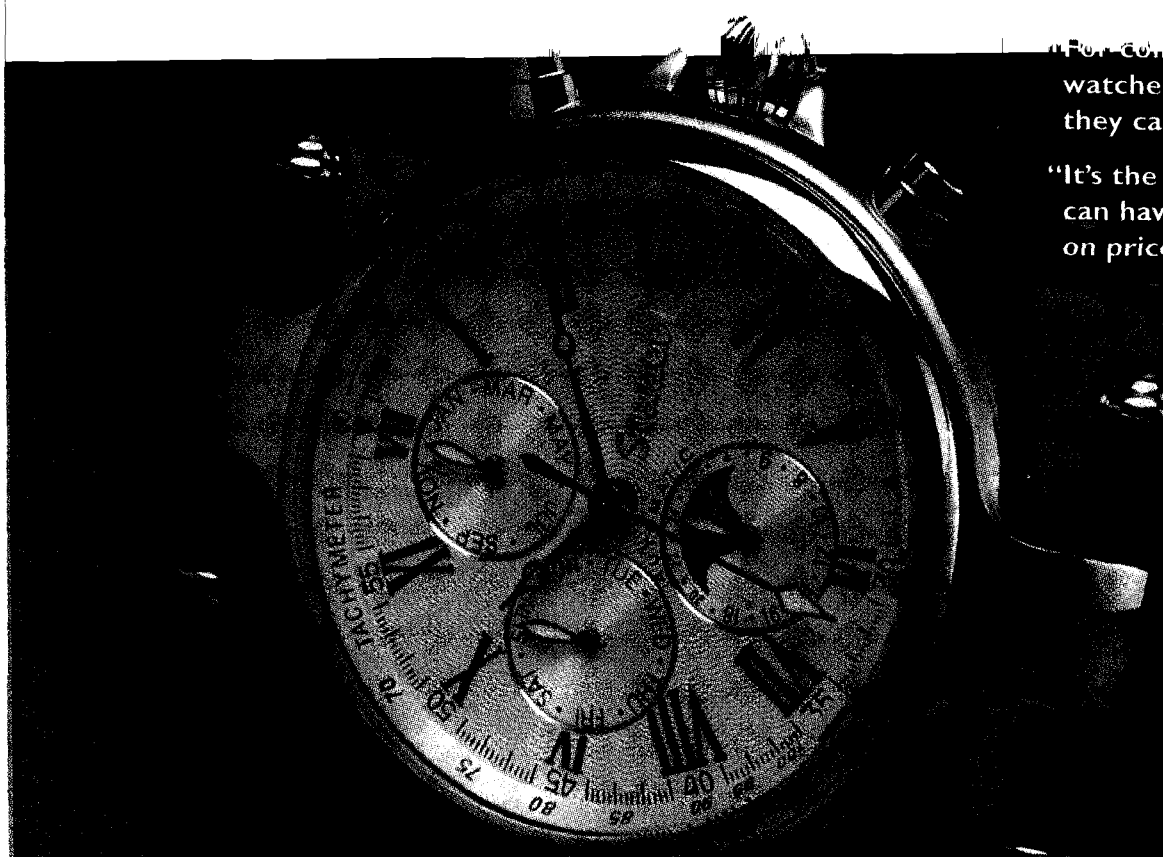

"For collectors, mechanical watches are tiny pieces of art they can wear."

"It's the complications that can have the biggest impact on price."

—Business Week, July 2003

Stock Market Crash Creates Finest Watch Offering Ever!

Eighty two years ago, a small watchmaker in Europe created a legendary watch. He invented the first watch with an automatic mechanical movement. These innovative movements required no batteries and never needed to be manually wound. Only seven of these ultra-rare watches were ever made and we've only actually seen one surviving masterpiece in a watch history book. We were fascinated with the complex functions of this historical timepiece.

Production of this design did not survive the crash of 1929. Watch production plunged as did the economy. As we researched 1920's chronographs from Switzerland, we found that these mechanical marvels are now highly prized by today's collectors. One leading auction house recently sold an exquisite 1929 mechanical Chronograph for $1,487,000. Inspired by that brilliant design, our Stauer *Meisterzeit* has been painstakingly handcrafted to the demanding standards of vintage watch collectors.

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Every interior dial has been carefully engineered to replicate the "complications" of the earliest chronographs. Two interior dials display day and month. A rare third dial depicts the sun and the stars on a 24-hour clock. The 21-jewel mechanical movement utilizes an automatic self-winding mechanism inspired by a patent from 1923. Thus this watch never needs batteries and never needs to be manually wound. It's powered by the movement of the body.

Now you can own a masterpiece...How is that possible?

We revere what has come before. Classic cars, fine antiques, paintings of the old masters—but we absolutely hate to pay retail. Stauer doesn't waste your money on Polo match sponsorships or high priced celebrity endorsements. And since Stauer is selling this vintage chronograph directly to you, there are no Park Avenue jewelry store rents. We know that you are a smart collector, smart enough to want the best and still keep most of your money in your wallet and not on your wrist. This limited edition Stauer *Meisterzeit* allows you to wear a watch far more exclusive than most new "upscale" models.

Here is your chance to claim a piece of watchmaking history in a rare design that is priced to wear everyday. The watch comes with our 30-day no questions asked money back guarantee. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price. This offer might not reappear for another 80 years.

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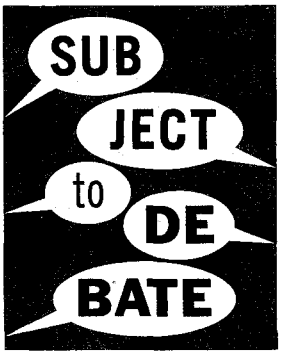
KATHA POLLITT

Do You Feel a Draft?



Should the government bring back the draft? Republican Senator Chuck Hagel has been talking it up, and it has captured the imagination of many liberals and leftists as well. Last year antiwar Representative Charles Rangel of New York and Senator Fritz Hollings of South Carolina introduced proposals to restore the draft as a way to build opposition to the war: The draft, Rangel argued, would spread the burden of war throughout society and force war supporters in the upper classes to put their children where their mouths are.

On paper, it's a tempting argument. Universal conscription would certainly be a poke in the eye for Bush, Cheney, Wolfowitz, Feith, Perle and other prowar "chickenhawks" who used their social privilege to avoid Vietnam ("I had other priorities," said the Vice President, who enjoyed no fewer than five deferments). In theory, the draft would give us an army of "citizen soldiers," young men—and probably women—drawn from all parts of society, instead of the current Army, which draws heavily on military families, poor people and—to judge by Charles Graner, accepted into the Army in his early 30s despite a long history of violence and instability—wife-beating losers. For many, the draft summons up ideals of valor, adulthood, public service and self-sacrifice—*shared* self-sacrifice. Those are all good things, but the draft is still a bad idea.

Given our ever more stratified and atomized society, why expect the draft to be equal or fair? In the 1960s, the draft was famously open to evasion and manipulation, as that large flock of chickenhawks proves. The new draft would be too. The Army doesn't need every high school graduate—there are 612,836 men 18 to 26 in the Selective Service registry for the state of Ohio alone, more than four times the number of US soldiers in Iraq—so it will be able, as in the past, to pick and choose. When one loophole closes, another will open: If Rangel succeeds in banning student deferments, we'll see 4Fs for college-bound kids with "attention deficit disorder" or "learning disabilities." Privileged kids will be funneled into safe stateside units, just the way George W. Bush was.

What about the argument that the draft will produce opposition to war? ("Parents and children would suddenly care," as historian of the 1960s Jon Wiener told me.) It's true that the draft will make it harder for kids and their families to live in a golden bubble—in the 1960s, the draft concentrated the minds of college students wonderfully well. But mostly what the Vietnam-era draft produced was the abolition of the draft: That was the immediate form that opposition to the war took for those who most risked having to fight it. Abolishing the draft was a tremendous victory for the antiwar movement. If draftees were used in an unpopular war tomorrow, wouldn't opponents demand that kids not be forced to kill and be killed in an unjust and pointless cause? Nor is it entirely clear that a draft would raise antiwar sentiment overall. Conscription might make it harder, not easier, for many people to see a war's wrongness: It's hard to admit your children died in vain.

Supporters of the draft are using it to promote indirectly politics we should champion openly and up front. It's terrible that working-class teenagers join the Army to get college funds, or job training, or work—what kind of nation is this where Jessica Lynch had to invade Iraq in order to fulfill her modest dream of becoming an elementary school teacher and Shoshanna Johnson had to be a cook on the battlefield to qualify for a culinary job back home? But the solution isn't to force more people into the Army, it's affordable education and good jobs for all. Nobody should have to choose between risking her life—or as we see in Abu Ghraib, her soul—and stocking shelves at Wal-Mart. By the same token, threatening our young with injury, madness and death is a rather roundabout way to increase resistance to military adventures. I'd rather just loudly insist that people who favor war go fight in it themselves or be damned as weasels and shirkers. I'm sure the Army can find something for Christopher Hitchens to do.

The main effect of bringing back the draft would be to further militarize the nation. The military has already thrust its tentacles deep into civilian life: We have ROTC on campus, Junior ROTC in the high schools, Hummers in our garages and camouflage couture in our closets. Whole counties, entire professions, live or die by defense contracts—which is perhaps one reason we spend more on our military budget than the next twenty-five countries combined. (Did you know that the money raised by the breast cancer postage stamp goes to the Defense Department?) Conscription will make the country more authoritarian and probably more violent, too, if that's possible—especially for women soldiers, who are raped and assaulted in great numbers in today's armed forces, usually with more or less impunity.

If we want a society that is equal, cohesive, fair and war-resistant, let's fight for that, not punish our children for what we have allowed America to become.

* * *

Correction: In my April 26 column ("Pregnant and Dangerous"), I used multiple sclerosis as an example of a disease that pregnancy exacerbated. Fortunately, I was wrong. According to the Multiple Sclerosis Society, pregnancy has no lasting impact on the course of MS, and may even have a protective effect.

* * *

Once again, the Bosnian Initiative Frankfurt, a German human rights group, is raising funds to provide Bosnian refugee children of all ethnicities with two weeks of "vacation from war" in summer camp. This year, there are also plans to bring Palestinian and Israeli children together. *Nation* readers have been crucial, generous donors and sustainers of the BIF. A $130 donation funds one child's stay and makes you a "godparent"; but gifts in any amount are warmly appreciated. Send checks made out to the Bosnian Initiative Frankfurt to me c/o The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, and I will forward them. ■

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ERIC ALTERMAN

Hawks Eating Crow

The Bush Administration has not made it easy on its supporters. David Brooks now admits that he was gripped with a "childish fantasy" about Iraq. Tucker Carlson is "ashamed" and "enraged" at himself. Tom Friedman, admitting to being "a little slow," is finally off the reservation. Die-hard Republican publicist William Kristol admits of Bush, "He did drive us into a ditch." The neocon fantasist and sometime Republican speechwriter Mark Helprin complains on the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page—the movement's *Pravda*—of "the inescapable fact that the war has been run incompetently, with an apparently deliberate contempt for history, strategy, and thought, and with too little regard for the American soldier, whose mounting casualties seem to have no effect on the boastfulness of the civilian leadership."

Most of the regretful hawks blame the Administration for its failure to execute what they consider a noble endeavor. But it is a noble endeavor only in the way it would be noble to give all your money to one of those deposed Ethiopian princesses who fill your inbox with pleas to send them all your money for a guarantee of future riches. In other words, yes, while it might have been nice to liberate Iraq from Saddam's clutches, it was a lot more likely that under Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld and Co., we would end up arresting innocent people, holding them without trial and systematically torturing and sexually humiliating them; all the while saying, as the *Daily Show*'s Rob Corddry so brilliantly put it, "Remember, it's not important that we did torture these people. What's important is that we are not the kind of people who would torture these people."

Take a look at the sequence of events leading to the revelations of the Abu Ghraib scandal in *The New Yorker*: It began, as Seymour Hersh notes, with Rumsfeld's desire to extract information from informants about the location of certain "high-value" targets in Afghanistan along with his unwillingness to apply the terms of the Geneva Conventions to prisoners captured in the War on Terrorism. Next came the bait-and-switch application in Iraq of tactics drawn from the War on Terrorism, upon which Bush and his Administration had based their entire case for offensive war. Add to this the refusal to provide the military with sufficient manpower resources to carry out the necessary tasks of the occupation, and throw in a willingness to use what one former official quoted by Hersh terms "recycled hillbillies"—untrained, inexperienced and overworked in a military prison located inside a hostile fire zone with rogue interrogators and virtually no nighttime supervision.

All of this made something like what eventually took place at Abu Ghraib all but inevitable—just as the Administration's aversion to accountability dictated the attempted cover-up that followed. The abuse was called to the attention of the occupation authorities as early as May 2003, and in November a scathing report of the International Committee of the Red Cross was reviewed by senior US military officials in Iraq, a full two months before the Army launched its investigation. Amnesty International had complained last summer of Iraqi detainees being subjected to "crude, inhuman or degrading treatment." Aides to Colin Powell and Paul Bremer insist that they, too, raised concerns within Administration circles but were ignored as well. Nothing was done to put an end to the officially sanctioned sadism—which also turned out to be a propaganda gift to anti-American terrorists the world over—until mid-January of this year, when the whistleblower Specialist Joseph Darby turned over photos to the Army's Criminal Investigation Division.

The existence of an internal Army report on the Abu Ghraib abuses, according to *Time*, was flatly denied to Intelligence Committee Democrats when they asked the Pentagon about it in January. In February, when Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba's report confirmed the earlier charges and provided the pornographic evidence, the story was still kept secret from Congress and the American people. Finally it was apparently leaked by one of the defendants' lawyers to Hersh and *60 Minutes II*, but even then, Secretary Rumsfeld and Joint Chiefs Chairman Richard Myers professed to be almost perfectly clueless. Briefing the Senate Intelligence Committee hours before the photos were to be broadcast on CBS (already delayed two weeks at Myers's request), Rumsfeld mentioned nothing about the approaching firestorm. Neither got around to reading the report until days later.

What was Bush's public response to the man responsible for what Senator Ted Kennedy aptly terms "America's steepest and deepest fall from grace in the history of our country"? It was to congratulate him for doing "a superb job." In Congress the word came from Dick Cheney's office to "get off [Rumsfeld's] case."

These are the men not just the neocons but self-described progressives and human-rights advocates believed capable of carrying out the delicate and difficult mission of bringing democracy and modernism to the Arab world, while safeguarding the security and good name of the United States. Excuse me, but just what was so hard to understand about this bunch? We knew they were dishonest. We knew they were fanatical. We knew they were purposely ignorant and bragged about not reading newspapers. We knew they were vindictive. We knew they were lawless. We knew they were obsessively secretive. We knew they had no time or patience for those who raised difficult questions. We knew they were driven by fantasies of religious warfare, personal vengeance and ideological triumph. We knew they had no respect for civil liberties. And we knew they took no responsibility for the consequences of their incompetence. Just what is surprising about the manner in which they've conducted the war?

And how pathetic is it that the only cable network really grappling with the media's failure is Comedy Central? Let's give the last word to the *Daily Show*'s incomparable Stephen Colbert: "The journalists I know love America, but now all anybody wants to talk about is the bad journalists—the journalists that hurt America.... Who didn't uncover the flaws in our prewar intelligence? Who gave a free pass on the Saddam–Al Qaeda connection? Who dropped Afghanistan from the headlines at the first whiff of this Iraqi snipe hunt? The United States press corps, that's who." ■

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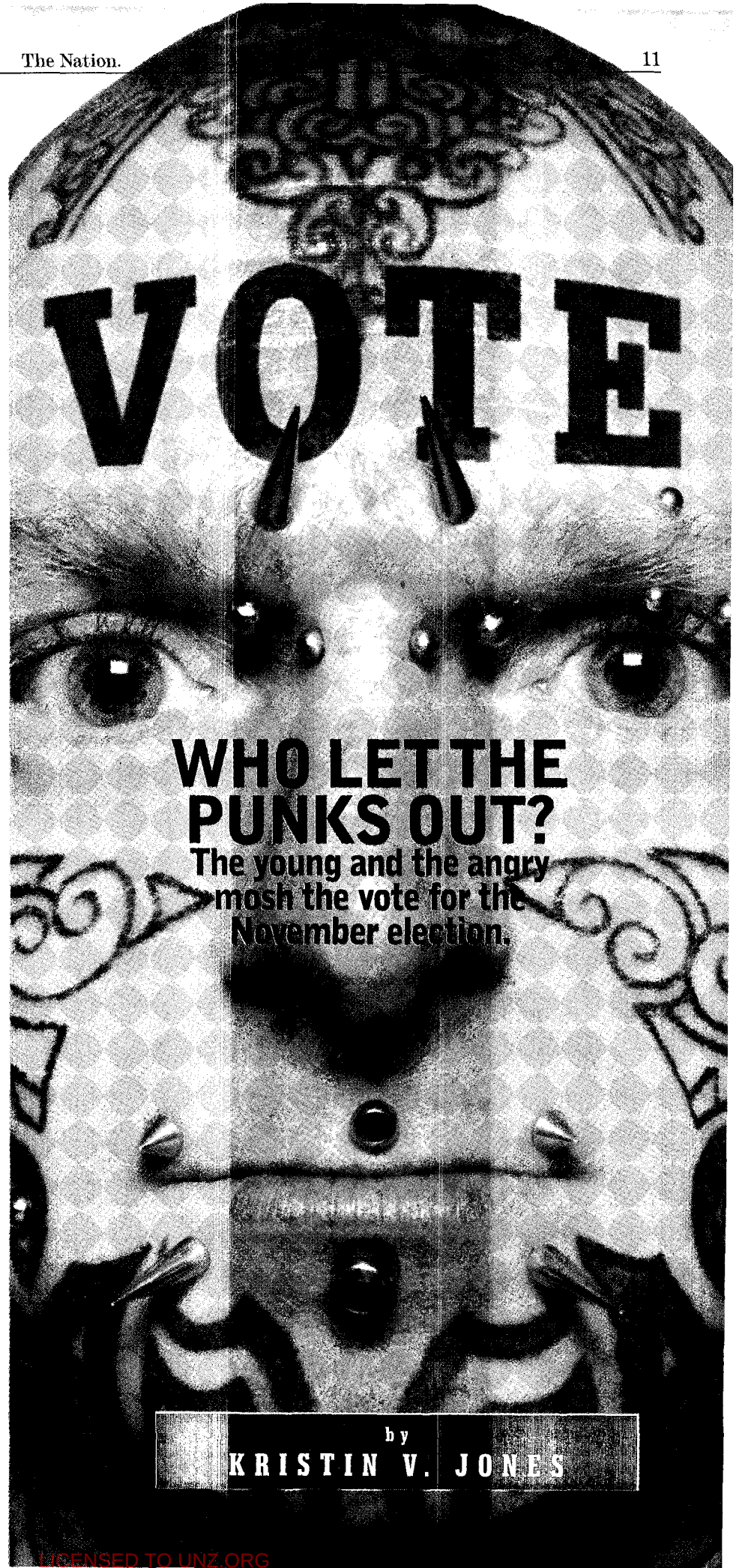
ARTICLES



WHO LET THE PUNKS OUT?

The young and the angry mosh the vote for the November election.

by KRISTIN V. JONES

"I've always railed against the whole oligarchy," said Al Jourgensen. This is expected. Jourgensen, *a k a* Buck Satan from the bands Ministry, Lard and the Revolting Cocks, has been scaring suburban parents for years with mechanical noises and angry lyrics. Recently enlisted by the voter education group Punkvoter, he railed very effectively against Urban Outfitters for selling an apparently antivoting T-shirt that read "Voting Is for Old People." The shirt also pissed off both the director and student chairman of the Harvard Institute for Politics and several members of Congress, who complained that it promoted apathy to a demographic group that tends to avoid the voting booth. Ultimately, Urban Outfitters gave in and recalled the shirt. But Jourgensen was still mad about one other looming political matter: the President.

"The one thing Bush does best is piss people off," griped Jourgensen on the phone from rural Texas, where he had just finished recording a new Ministry album. The Administration's foreign policy has been enough to make this industrial-strength rocker set aside, for now, some of his rage against the whole oligarchy to focus his ire on one primary target. "Democrats and Republicans," he admitted, "I think, basically, there's not much difference." But the truth is, there is little Jourgensen wouldn't do to get Bush out of office. He might even give John Kerry a good scream at the next Ministry concert.

"Absolutely!" he said, not railing at all. "I'll do whatever it takes. If Kerry wants us, we're there."

Voters, especially those under 30, who are upset with Bush, the war, the economy, healthcare, drug laws, the environment and the status quo of big-money politics do not have an obvious spokesperson in the upcoming election. Howard Dean was supposed to be the bold voice of the young and the angry. Dennis Kucinich snagged a few of the hardcore anti-warriors, until the dream seemed too impossible. Ralph Nader is still in the debate for some of the disaffected but has lost voters who believe that this is a high-stakes election.

And that leaves Kerry. Wealthy and senatorial, John F. Kerry is an unlikely candidate for anarchists and industrial rockers. More significant, perhaps, a recent Harvard poll suggests that the senator has so far not matched Bush

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Think your smoke detector will wake up your children? Think again

New evidence indicates that your child is likely to sleep through a fire alarm, unless you have the Kidsmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector.

BY JOHN FLEMING

Like most parents, I think I do everything within my power to keep my children safe. My wife and I talk to them regularly about what to do in case of an emergency, and we try to outfit our home with everything we need to protect them from outlet covers and medicine cabinet locks to smoke and carbon dioxide detectors. That's why I was absolutely stunned to find out that if my smoke detector goes off, my children will probably sleep through it. And, even if they do wake up, they are likely to be so scared and confused that they'll simply hide under the bed or in a closet. That's when I first heard of KidSmart™—a revolutionary advance in smoke detector technology that will wake my kids and help guide them to safety. That's also when I decided to get one for each of my children.

A very disturbing problem. According to the National Safe Kids Campaign, 40,000 children are seriously burned and injured every year in residential fires, and an additional 1,200 perish. Fires and burns are the fifth leading cause of unintentional injury-related death among children age 14 and under. Children under 5 are at the greatest risk, with a death rate more than twice the national average. Why? Because according to a leading pediatric sleep specialist, most children are likely to sleep through the smoke alarm! That's right, most children may sleep right through the alarm of 120 decibels—the equivalent of a rock concert or a jet aircraft, and 50% louder than traditional alarms.

Even the children that wake up are at risk. The secondary cause of fire-related death and injury to children is their tendency to panic and act irrationally in high stress situations—like hiding under a bed or in a closet. The National Safe Kids Campaign estimates that "more than 43% of residential fire-related deaths among children ages 9 and under occur when the child is attempting to escape, is unable to act or is acting irrationally." This is a very real problem that

"Sally...Wake up! There's a fire. Remember our drill."
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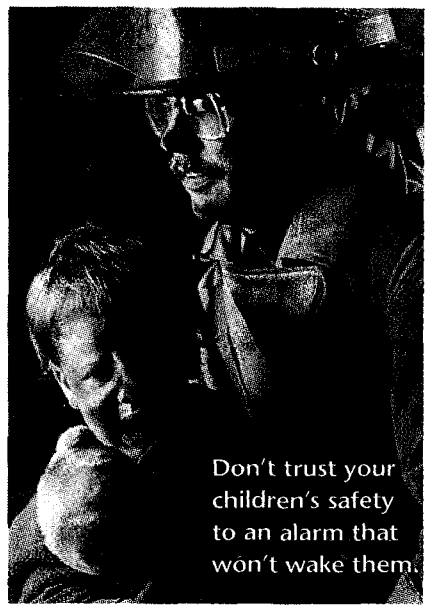
The KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector is the ONLY alarm that enables you to wake your child up with a recording of your own voice.



traditional smoke detectors cannot solve. Now, for the first time, there's an answer.

An innovative solution. The KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector enables you to wake your child with *your own voice. In tests to date, this method has* proven effective at awakening sleeping children ages 1 to 14. How? It capitalizes on the brain's ability to recognize one's own name or a familiar voice over background noise. This recognition takes place even while sleeping! Best of all, KidSmart™ *enables parents to record personalized escape* instructions that can be customized for any household or any child. KidSmart™ replays your personalized instructions, which calms the child and helps guide him or her out of the house.

But don't just take my word for it. Read on and find out more about this amazing advance in fire safety and find out how you can begin protecting your loved ones. The KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector has been recognized and supported worldwide by child psychologists and fire safety experts and even won a prestigious "Best of Innovations" Award at the 2003 International Consumer Electronics Show and Popular Science's 2003 Best of What's New Award.

Go to www.savekidslives.com and see the startling news stories and testimonials for yourself. Here are words from a parent concerned with fire safety in her home. "*We had a false alarm at our house, and I was truly disturbed to see that my child slept through the intense noise of our traditional smoke alarm for over 5 minutes. I tested the KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector on my child—and I couldn't believe it, he woke up in 15 seconds to the sound of my voice. No household with children should be without KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detectors.*"—Hailey B., Dalton, Georgia

KidSmart™ has been proven to wake your child in an emergency!

What can you do? The KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector is the only alarm that allows you to record a wake-up command for your child, such as "Sally! Wake up!" in your own voice. You can also record personalized escape instructions that can be customized for any household or child. The KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector replays your personalized instructions, which calm your child and guide them out of the fire.

Protect your children—because they can't protect themselves! KidSmart's directional alarm system and unique housing allows you to "aim" the high-quality speaker directly at your child's sleeping area, ensuring your "familiar voice" is heard. If you fail to speak loudly enough, the unit will prompt you to re-record until sufficient volume is achieved. Plus, unlike most traditional smoke detectors, which only let you test the battery, KidSmart™ has a fire drill button that allows parents to simulate a fire crisis with their children. Practicing an escape plan is the key to a quick exit and survival in a fire. KidSmart™ helps children become accustomed to their escape plan and provides parents with peace of mind.

Try the KidSmart™ Vocal Smoke Detector with our exclusive guarantee. Call today. Buy one for only $69.95. Buy two or more, and they are only $59.95 each. This is a small price to pay for your children's safety, but, if for any reason you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 60 days for a full refund of the product purchase price. It also comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty. Call today!

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himself in his ability to rally youth against the current Administration. Kerry now holds a ten-point lead over Bush on college campuses, but 37 percent of those surveyed said they did not know enough about the Democrat to form an opinion of him, or did not recognize his name. The study indicates that frustration with the President has drawn people to support Kerry by default, as the anti-Bush.

But is rage enough to turn out young anti-Bush voters in November? How about rage, a voter registration table and a good mosh pit? These are some of the unusual election-year questions facing organizers out to tap a strong dissatisfaction with the status quo and channel it toward a level of youth participation in battleground states that could swing a tight election. This spring, with an eye on mobilizing angry punks, Punkvoter commissioned Jello Biafra, NOFX, Alkaline Trio and Authority Zero to play to sold-out crowds of 1,000 to 5,000 in California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada and Arizona in the first part of their Rock Against Bush tour, and recently released the first volume of a compilation album, featuring an impressive roster of old-school and pop punks, which sold more than 35,000 copies in two weeks. Instead of targeting young voters en masse, as a presidential campaign might, Punkvoter employs hard-edged, partisan tactics to mobilize its core audience.

Is rage enough to turn out young anti-Bush voters in November? How about rage, a voter registration table and a good mosh pit?

Punkvoter is just one of many start-ups working to engage angry young voters in swing states, though it's among the more outspoken and far-reaching. Complicated FEC rules make explicitly anti-Bush voter organizing a tricky business; the Oregon Bus Project, which handled voter registration for the Oregon stops in the Rock Against Bush tour, is an example of a progressive, youth-led group that appeals to pissed-off voters without ever expressing the goal of "getting Bush out of office." Instead, they stick to issue-based voter education and registration.

Left-leaning youth-based organizations like this one nationwide include Project Democracy (a youth-led project of the League of Conservation Voters), the South Asian American Voting Youth and a number of organizations chronicled in a new book by the League of Pissed Off Voters. The league (attached to the website Indyvoter.org), is one of the first groups to try to establish a voting bloc specifically on the basis of being young and angry, writes about youth-driven electoral politics in its new book, *How to Get Stupid White Men Out of Office: The Anti-politics, Un-boring Guide to Power*. Don't be fooled by the hard-ass title: Many of the local campaigns and initiatives chronicled in the book are characterized by compromise and a willingness to accept incremental change. The introduction presents an argument for voting Democratic, even though "the Democrats are not our friends." And the stories in the book might be called heartwarming—not something you could bring to the mosh pit.

The Pissed Off Voters' solution to this dissonance is to propose their own DIY, punk-rock idea for the November election: local voter guides, printed up by web-connected swing-state league members on their own dime and xeroxed for coffee shop, nightclub, health center and street-corner distribution. Indyvoter also plans a website for young activists along the lines of Friendster (an interactive networking site that has brought in 1.5 million registered users, most of them young).

Armed with an understanding of their own communities, anti-Bush youth are in a unique position to do the kind of one-on-one persuading that is most effective in turning out the young vote. Just ask Malia Lazu, a charismatic 26-year-old member of the League of Pissed Off Voters and co-author of its debut book. Lazu describes herself as black Puerto Rican Italian—and, more to the point, she proclaims, "I'm the diva of democracy with my push-up bra and my fabulous boots!" Unwilling to champion most politicians, Lazu has mastered a free-style approach to personality politics in order to turn out voters. *How to Get Stupid White Men Out of Office* records her success as a college student who founded and directed the voter-organizing project Boston Vote among traditionally nonvoting neighborhoods. The only one of twelve activist co-authors with any experience in electoral politics, Lazu created a voting model on a substantial foundation—building a coalition of community-based organizations, teaching voters where, how and why to vote—plus a whole lot of hip-hop style. Last year, the city of Boston and the state of Massachusetts recognized her work in dramatically increasing turnout in Boston's communities of color. Now she's an organizer for the Cities for Peace program at the Institute for Policy Studies, and has worked with Harry Belafonte on voter organizing in impoverished neighborhoods in cities like Cincinnati.

With inspirational stories like Lazu's, *How to Get Stupid White Men Out of Office* (the title prompted an angry letter from the publisher of Michael Moore's *Stupid White Men*) tries to chip away at another nonvoting culture: the protest crowd. Co-editors Adrienne Brown and William Wimsatt (who has something of a cult following from earlier books *Bomb the Suburbs* and *No More Prisons*) hawked the book to its target audience as they marched through New York's antiwar protest this past March and gave away copies to people from swing states. By their account, they found more than 1,000 takers—some of them fans of Wimsatt's from his other books (in six weeks, roughly 2,500 copies of the book were sold through traditional distribution methods). For Wimsatt, and undoubtedly many of the kids who have shown up for antiwar, antitrade and anti–Patriot Act rallies in the past few years, voting never seemed particularly important. ("I don't vote," said one marcher named Dread, who nonetheless asked for a free copy. "I don't see a good reason.") Wimsatt has a history of grand gestures; he started a rich-kid philanthropic organization and wrote hip-hop books, including one that Tupac Shakur called "the best book I read in prison." Now, like other rebels who have examined their complicity in allowing George W. Bush to be elected in the first place, Wimsatt has had a change of heart about electoral politics. After Florida 2000, he became a believer. "We want you to call your friends in swing states!" he preached to the crowd.

As Lazu tells pissed-off nonvoters, "If you want to be an anar-

Kristin V. Jones, a freelance writer living in Washington, DC, was a fall 2003–spring 2004 Nation *intern.*

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chist, that's fine, but then we'll all still be here. Could you just not be an anarchist on voting day?"

This is a message that Kerry can't deliver. Nonvoters are not a target of major campaigns, and anarchists, punks and hip-hop divas may be even further down the list of "good voters" than young people in general. As a presidential candidate whom many primary voters chose, after all, for his electability, Kerry won't be chasing down hot DJs for a "Drop Bush, Get Bombed" party (as one youth-led PAC in Philadelphia did) or sporting a "Vote, F*cker" T-shirt (Oregon Bus Project's answer to the Urban Outfitters shirt). The targeted efforts of the young and pissed-off may benefit Kerry, but their medium and message distinguish them from the work of his camp, and even from mainstream 527s. A very individualized approach makes them a new and unpredictable factor in the upcoming election. Will edgy slogans turn off as many people as they seduce? Or are they a necessary antidote to Kerry's stiff pronouncements? Will use of the Internet in coalition-building this year create no more than the illusion of youth-led resistance? Or will the chance for personal involvement mobilize a generation of independent voters? In short, will the f*ckers vote, and for whom? No polls have yet answered these questions.

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Not everybody is convinced that an anti-Bush message is enough to draw in disaffected citizens. Marshall Ganz, an adviser to the Dean campaign and a Harvard lecturer in public policy, believes that without a strong leader like Dean, who drew young activists and organizers into his campaign, young voters will be more likely to drop out. "A constructive alternative is very important," says Ganz. "It's not enough to just get rid of Bush. To really tap into the potential there, people also have to think they have someone and something to vote for."

A number of Dean supporters—brought into the campaign by his willingness to denounce an unjust war, a stand-still economy and Third World health coverage—will second that. Some have dropped out or headed home to beg their old jobs back. Others are somewhat reluctantly going to work for Kerry. "I'm not crazy about the guy," admitted one. "But I need a job."

Still, punks and pissed-off voters have some company in Deaniacs who are committed to constructing political alternatives at home, with the Internet's help. Grassroots offshoots join Dean's new organization, Democracy for America, in an attempt to keep the passion alive, supporting local progressive causes and candidates. Twelve people have announced Dean-inspired runs for office on a Democratic Wings group listing; others haven't posted their names, but credit the Vermont governor with their political ambition. Nathan Nickens, 21, is one of them. The college student, a Generation Dean organizer, made the journey from northwestern Ohio to see Dean speak in New York in March. Nickens plans to run on a platform of education, healthcare and fiscal responsibility as the Democratic nominee challenging a Republican incumbent for his Ohio State Senate district. ("I'll just start giving Dean stump speeches and not screaming," he quipped.)

Meanwhile, Punkvoter works the punks, who were never shy about anger—or, for that matter, screaming. The next phase of their tour will hit Eastern battleground states as well as blitzing through New York for fundraising. Small audiences and an intact (no, not dead) punk community give a personalized edge to this music-driven push. An anti-authoritarian message is well suited to the long-held punk aversion to leadership, yet Punkvoter's Rock Against Bush tour directs all that rage against a particular authority, instead of just The Man. This pragmatic focus has roots in the political punk tradition maintained over the years by bands like Fugazi, but fury at the Bush Administration has given it new steam. Consider the following idealistic—not nihilistic—statement by Punkvoter founder Fat Mike in the liner notes of the first volume of the Rock Against Bush compilation album, after a whole lot of ranting about the President: "The good news is, we actually have the power to change America's—and the world's—future," writes the NOFX rocker, sounding like Howard Dean. "But only if we get our shit together and get involved in the political process."

When punks with the street cred of Fat Mike and Jello Biafra say it's time to get our shit together, other punks listen. But if Punkvoter is big on the "why" of voting, it's not so hot on the "how"—the logistics of getting newly mobilized dissenters to follow through in the voting booth. Punkvoter doesn't register voters on its high-traffic website, and it relies on other groups like Music for America to do voter registration at its shows. Similarly, the League of Pissed Off Voters offers scant practical guidance. Even its book, a how-to, doesn't explain the particulars of starting a city council campaign, forming a political action committee or registering absentee voters.

Neither do voter-education engines like Rock the Vote (RTV) and Declare Yourself, but these bigger groups do register significant numbers of voters with their blanket approach to youth organizing (whether these people will actually vote is harder to gauge). RTV reports that it has registered roughly 200,000 voters since January with its nonpartisan efforts, relying heavily on mass media, MTV-style glitz and Internet voter registration to achieve its goals. Despite street teams and voter registration tables, personal contact is not where the bulk of RTV's resources are directed. Targeting smaller audiences and making spitting-distance appeals to them, as Punkvoter and the League of Pissed Off Voters do, has obvious limitations, but it also has some distinct advantages. Directly asking young people to vote is the single most effective proven way to get them to do it, according to CIRCLE, a think tank that specializes in youth civic engagement research. "Public service announcements don't work," adds Thomas Patterson, a Harvard lecturer for the Kennedy School of Government who has also studied the voting patterns of younger adults as part of the Vanishing Voter Project. "By and large...generalized television appeals don't work. What does affect voter turnout is personal contact."

The Bush campaign will be spending hundreds of millions of dollars to win this year's election, and it has amassed legions of volunteers of all ages (more than 350,000 of them) to take Bush's campaign door to door. And Nader continues to poll relatively strongly with young people. Surveys of young people conducted this year suggest an amplified interest in this presidential election.

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PAIN MANAGEMENT IN CRISIS!

Alicia Smith took her own life on March 16 because she couldn't stand the chronic pain any longer.[1] When federal agents arrested her physician, Dr. William Hurwitz, Alicia couldn't find anyone else willing to prescribe the large dose of opiates she needed to survive.

All over the country patients with chronic pain say they are having trouble finding adequate and proper medication. This is a public health catastrophe that cries out for reform.

Because prescription medicine now ranks number two among drugs most abused by adults and young people, the federal government plans to dramatically ramp up enforcement, ostensibly going after doctors who do not follow "sound medical practice".[2] Doctors have become so gun shy that the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons now advises its doctors not to prescribe opiates at all.[3]

DEA officials deny that their campaign has a chilling effect on physicians, saying they take action in only a few hundred cases a year. But the physicians don't see it that way. "It only takes one person to get guillotined for everyone to get the message," says Robert Mills, spokesman for the AMA.[4]

When chronic pain patients become desperate, they inevitably turn to the black market for additional medication, or they are forced to "game the system" by seeking duplicate prescriptions.

Pain management specialists should be policed by other pain management specialists – not law enforcement officers.

The medical profession itself is part of the problem. In medical school, doctors get little if any training in pain management, so they either under-medicate or avoid chronic pain patients altogether. Patients with legitimate need for heavy medication, victims – of cancer, bone disease, botched surgery, etc. – seek out those few doctors like William Hurwitz who are willing to help. This raises a red flag for law enforcement since these doctors seem to be prescribing heavy doses for too many patients.

Congress and the medical profession must work out a solution for the millions of Americans who are living with chronic pain and cannot obtain appropriate relief. Pain management specialists should be policed by other pain management specialists – not law enforcement officers.

www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair 717-299-0600

1. Not her real name. 2. Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2004 Strategy Report. 3.Los Angeles Times Oct 20 03, "Painful Rift." 4. Drug Enforcement Report, Dec 23, 2003, "DEA Addresses Complaint."

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Sixty-two percent of those polled by Harvard said they would "definitely" vote in November. Judging from past elections, it's safe to say that this number will definitely not be reached. But a perception that stakes are high in this election is nonetheless likely to stimulate youth turnout in November. Young people have the potential to swing the election one way or the other.

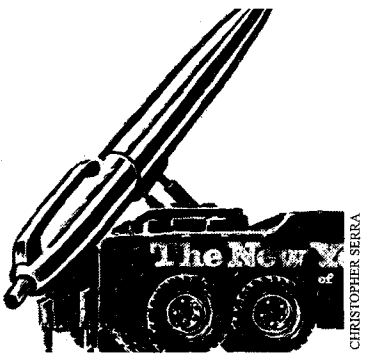
Like the Bush campaign, the Kerry campaign and a host of left-leaning 527s have been trying this season, with mixed results, to recruit new voters. But critics note that the present political system, entrenched in mass marketing, continues to sideline the concerns of whole groups, like low-income and younger adults, who are less likely to vote, further perpetuating that reality. As a result of this cycle of mutual disinterest, young people tend to have a weaker party identification than their elders do. At the very least, Punkvoter and its allies present an alternate mode of political organizing—one that may succeed in reaching nonvoters where the traditional approach fails. But if the Democratic Party does get the young, pissed-off vote, it should be prepared to work much harder for long-term loyalty. Anger at Bush may only get Kerry as far as Election Day. "On the first Tuesday of the month, we may be voting for you," warns Lazu. "But on the second Tuesday, it's your ass." ■

THE HIGHBROW LITERARY MAGAZINE HAS RE-EMERGED AS A COMBATIVE POLITICAL ACTOR.

The Rebirth of the *NYRB*

SCOTT SHERMAN

"Dear Mr. Secretary: I am writing you to submit my resignation from the Foreign Service of the United States and from my position as political counselor in US Embassy Athens, effective March 7. I do so with a heavy heart." So wrote Brady Kiesling, a career US diplomat, in a letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell last year. The letter was candid and direct: "Our fervent pursuit of war with Iraq is driving us to squander the international legitimacy that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson.... Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security."



CHRISTOPHER SERRA

Greek newspapers were quick to publish Kiesling's pithy and prescient statement, but it was virtually ignored in the US press until *The New York Review of Books* reprinted it at the onset of the Iraq war. Kiesling invoked a number of themes that had been percolating in the *Review*'s pages since late 2001: the recklessness of George Bush and his Administration; the erosion of civil liberties and constitutional protections at home; the growing estrangement of the United States from the rest of the world; and—a decisive matter for the *Review*—the rupture with longtime allies France and Germany.

The manner in which Kiesling's letter arrived on these shores points to a significant new development in the higher echelons of American culture: the re-emergence of *The New York Review of Books* as a powerful and combative actor on the political scene. Born as a highbrow literary magazine in 1963, the *Review* took a vocal role in contesting the Vietnam War, and its pages were filled with essays by Noam Chomsky, Eric Hobsbawm, I.F. Stone, Andrew Kopkind, Ellen Willis, Tom Hayden and other leading writers from the left. Around 1970, a sturdy liberalism began to supplant left-wing radicalism at the paper. As Philip Nobile observed in his 1974 book *Intellectual Skywriting*, the *Review* returned to its roots and became "a literary magazine on the British nineteenth-century model, which would mix politics and literature in a tough but gentlemanly fashion."

In the wake of the Vietnam War, the *Review* became a formidable—and, in some sense, unique—journalistic institution. Many of its readers reside in academia, but the paper has a devoted following in the upper reaches of media, politics and philanthropy, which gives it an influence vastly out of proportion to its circulation of 130,000. (One recent essay, Peter Galbraith's "How to Get Out of Iraq," even caused a stir among some military intellectuals.) That influence translates into dollars: In contrast to virtually all serious literary and political journals, which drain money from their owners, the *Review* has been profitable for decades. But the formula is not without its imperfections, which have grown more pronounced in recent years. The publication has always been erudite and authoritative—and because of its analytical rigor and seriousness, frequently essential—but it hasn't always been lively, pungent and readable. A musty odor, accompanied by a certain aversion to risk-taking, has pervaded its pages for a long time. "In recent years," says the historian Ronald Steel, who has contributed since 1965, "the paper has sometimes verged on being bland or predictable, always using the same people."

But the election of George W. Bush, combined with the furies of 9/11, jolted the editors. Since 2001, the *Review*'s temperature has risen and its political outlook has sharpened. Old warhorses bolted from their armchairs. Prominent members of the *Review* "family"—a stable that includes veteran journalists (Thomas Powers, Frances FitzGerald, Ian Buruma), literary stars (Joan Didion, Norman Mailer) and academic heavyweights (Stanley Hoffmann, Ronald Dworkin, Arthur Schlesinger Jr.)—charged into battle not only against the White House but against the lethargic press corps and the "liberal hawk" intellectuals, some of whom are themselves prominent members of the *Review*'s

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extended family. In stark contrast to *The New Yorker*, whose editor, David Remnick, endorsed the Iraq war in a signed essay in February 2003, asserting that "a return to a hollow pursuit of containment will be the most dangerous option of all"; or *The New York Times Magazine*, which gave ample space to Michael Ignatieff, Bill Keller, Paul Berman, George Packer and other prowar liberal hawks, the *Review* opposed the Iraq war in a voice that was remarkably consistent and unified.

The firepower it directed against the liberal hawks reveals much about the *Review*'s political mood these days. Like many in the liberal hawk camp, the publication sanctioned US military intervention in the Balkans on humanitarian grounds. But when Ignatieff & Co. invoked the logic of humanitarian intervention as a basis for military action against Saddam Hussein, the *Review* (which has showcased Ignatieff's work for years) insisted that Bush's crusade against Iraq was something closer to old-fashioned imperialism. As Ian Buruma wrote in a quietly devastating assessment of Paul Berman's 2003 book *Terror and Liberalism*: "There is something in the tone of Berman's polemic that reminds me of the quiet American in Graham Greene's novel, the man of principle who causes mayhem, without quite realizing why."

What blew the dust off *The New York Review*? In no sense, really, has the paper returned to its New Left sensibility of the late 1960s: Chomsky, Hayden and Willis have not been reinstated; young lions like *The Baffler*'s Tom Frank and *The Village Voice*'s Rick Perlstein have not been invited to contribute; Eric Foner, Bruce Cumings, Richard Rorty, Chalmers Johnson, Stephen Holmes, Anatol Lieven, Elaine Showalter and Carol Brightman continue to publish much of their finest work not in *The New York Review of Books* but in the more radical, eccentric and sprightly pages of the *London Review of Books*. In short, the *Review*'s liberal (and establishment) soul remains intact. What has changed significantly, in the age of Bush, is the *Review*'s style of rhetoric and degree of political focus and commitment.

The Review *has always been erudite and authoritative—and frequently essential—but it hasn't always been lively and readable.*

Longtime editor Robert Silvers is not eager to discuss the *Review*, but he does allow, "The pieces we have published by such writers as Brian Urquhart, Thomas Powers, Mark Danner and Ronald Dworkin have been reactions to a genuine crisis concerning American destructiveness, American relations with its allies, American protections of its traditions of liberties." He worries that critical voices are being silenced: "The aura of patriotic defiance cultivated by the Administration, in a fearful atmosphere, had the effect of muffling dissent."

The *Review*'s response to that atmosphere is a most welcome return to form. By forcefully articulating what was essentially the European position on Iraq and the "war on terror," the *Review* has recovered much of the élan and urgency it possessed in the late 1960s. "They have been quite influential," notes Brady Kiesling, "in consolidating the gut feeling of a whole intellectual class that Bush is a frighteningly weak and ignorant President." "One didn't think of it in recent years as being particularly a political magazine," says Norman Mailer, who has contributed to the *Review* off and on since 1963, and who is a principal actor in the paper's current revival. "I think that *The New York Review*, which has been evolving for many years, has evolved one more time."

In 1959 Elizabeth Hardwick wrote an acerbic essay for *Harper's* titled "The Decline of Book Reviewing." "The book-review sections as a cultural enterprise are, like a pocket of unemployment, in a state of baneful depression insofar as liveliness and interest are concerned," she professed. Three years later, during the winter of 1962–63, a newspaper strike kept the New York dailies off the streets for several months, and Hardwick and her friends came to realize that a Sunday afternoon without the *New York Times Book Review* was bliss. In 1963 Hardwick, along with Robert Lowell and Jason Epstein, launched the *Review* and in the process assembled a stellar cast of writers. The editors who helped to create the *Review*—Robert Silvers and Barbara Epstein, both of whom are now 74—are still at the helm today.

In the mid-1960s political developments at home and abroad drove the paper to the left. I.F. Stone, Bernard Fall and Jean Lacouture were among the first to expose the folly of the Vietnam War, and they did so at length in the pages of the *Review*. In its most militant and pugnacious phase in the late 1960s, the *Review* published several of Noam Chomsky's most magisterial essays, alongside articles by writers like Hayden and Kopkind, whose 1967 essay on Martin Luther King Jr. was accompanied by a drawing of a Molotov cocktail on the cover, which drew a firestorm of outrage and became the centerpiece of the neoconservative campaign against the *Review*.

After Vietnam, the *Review* jettisoned its radical sensibility and moved closer to the center. To a considerable extent, a tight circle of New York intellectuals, Ivy League stars, Nobel laureates and Oxbridge luminaries replaced Chomsky and his cohort. The paper still printed the work of dissidents, but they now tended to be dissidents from within the establishment. If Chomsky did much to shape the *Review*'s identity in the 1960s, it was Silvers's close friend, the Oxford political theorist Isaiah Berlin, who helped to define the *Review* after Vietnam with his emphasis on liberalism, pluralism, individual liberty and the dangers of political extremism. (Vaclav Havel, to some extent, played that role in the 1990s.) "There was a very drastic shift," says Chomsky, whose work stopped appearing in the *Review* in 1975, and who insists today that writers who had "any connection with activist sectors of the peace movement" were "virtually eliminated, except for token participation." (Silvers declines to discuss Chomsky or his allegations: "I don't feel it's right for me," he says, "to get into a personal account of my relationship with any writer.")

Some left-leaning members of the *Review* family evince frustration with the paper's trajectory. Says Gore Vidal, "It's essentially *bien-pensant* on most matters." He produces a familiar litany of complaints about the *Review*: stodginess, Anglophilia, nonchalance toward younger contributors. Vidal has a long history with the *Review*, whose editors have routinely published his literary criticism but have rejected some of his most brilliant and acerbic political essays—including "The Holy Family" and "Pink

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Triangle and Yellow Star," the latter of which appeared in *The Nation*. "I am forbidden politics" at the *Review*, he professed in a 1991 letter to a friend, portions of which appear in Fred Kaplan's *Gore Vidal: A Biography*. The *Review*, Vidal wrote, "grows not only duller and duller, the fate of most papers, but the writers do not question the status quo and the examined life is too dangerous for their pages."

Perhaps. But the *Review*'s political virtues should not go unnoticed. The paper was always hostile to neoconservatism: Silvers and Epstein never followed Norman Podhoretz, Hilton Kramer and other New York intellectuals into the Republican camp. Indeed, one of the most piquant surveys of the neoconservative throng was undertaken by Alfred Kazin in 1983—and published in *The New York Review of Books*. Down through the years, the *Review* has maintained its commitment to New Deal/Great Society liberalism and to civil liberties, racial equality and human rights.

The *Review* responded to the election of George W. Bush with dismay, and was quick to assail the Administration's rejection of the International Criminal Court, the Kyoto Protocol and the ABM treaty. But the paper's reawakening really began with the events of September 11. A former State Department counterterrorism expert, Philip Wilcox Jr., crafted the *Review*'s first response to the attacks. Responding to Bush's declared "war on terrorism," Wilcox wrote, "Armed force...while politically popular, is usually an ineffective and often counterproductive weapon against terror." The Administration, he insisted, should embrace a foreign policy that "moves away from unilateralism and toward closer engagement with other governments."

As the Iraq war drew closer and the press grew more deferential, the Review*'s disgust increased, and the editors fired their heavy weaponry.*

Wilcox's essay did much to define the *Review*'s post-9/11 coverage. His principal arguments—that military power has stark limitations, and that multilateral diplomacy is essential—would be echoed (and expanded) in the weeks and months after September 11 by dozens of contributors, many of whom were skeptical of the US war in Afghanistan. "Accountants mulling over shady bank accounts and undercover agents bribing their way," Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit wrote a few months later, "will be more useful in the long-term struggle than special macho units blasting their way into the caves of Afghanistan." "Embarking on a full-scale war to rid oneself of terrorists is analogous to hunting a hornet with a Sherman tank," wrote Norman Mailer. "When the tank knocks down the house that shelters the hornet, the creature whips into the attic of the next house." In the wake of 9/11, the *Review* also published a barrage of essays documenting the perilous state of American civil liberties as a result of the "war on terror," alongside some remarkable reportage from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

But it was the Administration's obsession with Iraq that drove the *Review* to new heights of skepticism and indignation. In 1990 the paper supported the Gulf War on the grounds that it was a multilateral affair; but the editors came to realize that things would be different this time around. In September 2002 Frances FitzGerald published an essay titled "George Bush and the World," in which she contrasted the multilateral foreign policy of the first Bush Administration with the reckless, arrogant unilateralism of the second. Other *Review* writers were quick to take the full measure of Bush's foreign policy ambitions. "I find it increasingly hard to believe that Mr. Bush's objective is limited to seeing that Saddam Hussein has no weapons of mass destruction," Anthony Lewis wrote a few weeks later. "The history and the theology of the men whose advice now dominates Mr. Bush's thinking point to much larger purposes. I think this president wants to overthrow the rules that have governed international life for the last fifty years."

As war drew closer, and the press grew more accommodating and deferential, the *Review*'s disgust increased, and the editors fired their heavy weaponry. Two months before the Iraq war, Joan Didion published "Fixed Opinions, or The Hinge of History," a melancholy account of her own journeys through the United States since 9/11 and a dark rumination on intellectual and political cowardice, the degradation of language, the machinations of *faux* patriots, the docility of our politicians and the closing of the American mind since the attacks on New York and Washington.

Shortly thereafter, Mailer surfaced with an essay titled "Only in America." Accompanied by David Levine's caricature of a swaggering George W. Bush outfitted in the costume of a Roman gladiator (with missiles protruding from his shield), Mailer's essay was a dazzling rumination on revenge, masculinity, sports, television, oil consumption, empire, the Bomb, and—most of all—the fate of American democracy:

> Democracy, I would repeat, is the noblest form of government we have yet evolved, and we may as well begin to ask ourselves whether we are ready to suffer, even perish for it, rather than readying ourselves to live in the lower existence of a monumental banana republic with a government always eager to cater to mega-corporations as they do their best to appropriate our thwarted dreams with their elephantiastical conceits.

The fall of Baghdad only deepened the fury of the *Review*'s contributors. Jason Epstein penned a scorching essay in which he compared President Bush to Captain Ahab, and wherein he invoked the specter of World War I with a quotation from Sigmund Freud: "Never has an event destroyed so much that was precious in the common property of mankind, confused so many of the most lucid minds, so thoroughly debased the elevated."

Last December, when many political observers were still giving the Administration the benefit of a doubt on Iraq's WMD potential, Thomas Powers insisted, in a much-read essay titled "The Vanishing Case for War," that anthrax, sarin, mustard gas, Scud missiles, biological warheads, etc. were nowhere to be found in Iraq. "There was no imminent danger—indeed there was no *distant* danger," Powers noted. "How is it possible then that the United States Congress allowed itself to be convinced to believe in this nonexistent danger, and to authorize in advance a war for which there was no justification?"

One notices a clear generational aspect to the *Review*'s recent

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Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition

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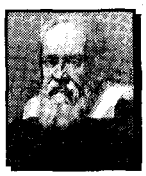
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output: With certain exceptions, the finest writing has flowed from the pens of contributors over the age of 60. "It isn't a bunch of youngbloods doing the lively political coverage at the *Review*, it's the old pros who have been writing for them for years," says James Wolcott, a columnist for *Vanity Fair*. "To me it's similar to the situation that occurred before the war with Iraq, when it was the silver-haired brigade—Mailer, Vidal, John le Carré, Kurt Vonnegut, Jimmy Breslin—who were most vehemently opposed while so many baby boomer journalists and intellectuals, from Michael Kelly to Paul Berman to Andrew Sullivan, were on board with Bush. The silver foxes had enough history under their belt to recognize what a wrenching departure this optional pre-emptive war was from the past."

Some of the most astringent prose in the paper has come from a younger member of the family, Professor Tony Judt. A few weeks ago I called on Judt, 56, in his cluttered office at New York University's Remarque Institute. Bald, with glasses and a gray beard, Judt is wearing a stylish short-sleeve gray sweater and pressed black slacks. He is remarkably self-assured. He offers me a glass of scotch, while he sips mineral water.

Born in England, Judt has taught European history at Oxford, Cambridge and Berkeley, and his best-known book is *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals 1944–1956*, a fierce assault on leading French thinkers for their obeisance to Stalinism. "I started writing for *The New York Review* in 1993," Judt explains. "You start writing when they ask you. You don't send stuff in. They ask you." He has since contributed essays on France, Austria, the Balkans, Belgium, Albert Camus, Primo Levi and various aspects of international affairs since 2001.

'Periods of crisis bring out the best editorial instincts of the leadership of The New York Review.' *—Mark Danner*

How did 9/11 influence him? "For the first time I felt alien, a little out of place, even in New York. And then I realized that, in some ways, it was *especially* in New York, and that was because of the Israel thing." For years Judt had privately lamented the passivity of the "American Jewish community, and indeed, the American Jewish intelligentsia, what used to be called 'the New York Intellectuals' and so on." Their silence on Israel—and their reluctance to accept, as he wrote in November 2001, that the "Israel-Palestine conflict and America's association with Israel are the greatest single source of contemporary anti-US sentiment"—bothered him. After 9/11, he says, "I started saying what I have for fifteen years been thinking, but had not written."

What he wrote, in a series of essays for the *Review*, was not unfamiliar to readers of Israeli or European newspapers but, in the American context, was rather startling. These essays, which were provocations as much as prescriptions, tackled a variety of themes: the political uses of the Holocaust, the Jewish psyche, Israeli assassination squads and Ariel Sharon's "shameless" manipulation of the US government. "Most Israelis are still trapped in the story of their own uniqueness," Judt wrote in May 2002. "The problem for the rest of the world is that since 1967, Israel has changed in ways that render its traditional self-description absurd. It is now a regional colonial power, by some accounts the world's fourth-largest military establishment." Three hundred letters, most of them abusive, greeted that essay.

In an even more incendiary essay, "Israel: The Alternative," published in October 2003, Judt argued that the very structure of the Israeli state is hopelessly—and dangerously—rooted in the past:

> The problem with Israel, in short, is not—as is sometimes suggested—that it is a European "enclave" in the Arab world, but rather that it arrived too late. It has imported a characteristically late-nineteenth-century separatist project into a world that has moved on, a world of individual rights, open frontiers, and international law. The very idea of a 'Jewish state'—a state in which Jews and the Jewish religion have exclusive privileges from which non-Jewish citizens are forever excluded—is rooted in another time and place. Israel, in short, is an anachronism.

Judt finished with a thunderclap: "The behavior of a self-described Jewish state affects the way everyone else looks at Jews.... The depressing truth is that Israel today is bad for the Jews." And he went on to propose a rather provocative solution to the current impasse: "A single, integrated, binational state of Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians." (*The New York Review* wasn't always friendly to the "binational state" concept. When Noam Chomsky proposed "socialist binationalism" in his 1974 book *Peace in the Middle East?*, Bernard Avishai, writing in the *Review*, dismissed the idea as "misleading and contradictory.")

Judt's essay drew 1,000 smoldering letters. "I got no direct death threats," Judt recalls, "except for a number of e-mails that said, 'You'd be better off dead.'" He has since implemented certain changes to his daily routine. "We do now very carefully check our mail. My wife and kids don't open the mail. It's awful." But the venom of his critics has only served to fortify his opinions. "To be a Jewish American—what does the identity comprise?" Judt pointedly inquires. "It now comprises one identity in space and one in time. Its space is Israel and its time is Auschwitz. This is something I find obscene, ultimately dangerous and abusive on multiple counts."

Judt is not the *Review*'s only critical voice on Israel. Henry Siegman and Amos Elon have also written with great force and clarity, and in August 2001 Robert Malley and Hussein Agha produced the most nuanced insider account of the demise of the Camp David 2000 summit, one that shattered the mythology of "Ehud Barak's unprecedented offer and Yasser Arafat's uncompromising no." Gore Vidal affirms, with a trace of admiration and surprise in his voice, "They're getting very interesting on Israel, which they're taking a lot of flak for, obviously. For them, that's quite brave."

What accounts for the *Review*'s post-9/11 revival? One word that continually tumbles from the lips of seasoned *Review*-watchers is "Vietnam." Says Mark Danner, who worked for Silvers after he graduated from Harvard in the early 1980s, and who has recently produced some searching essays in the *Review* about Iraq, "If you look back over the *Review*'s history, you'll find that periods of crisis bring out the best editorial

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instincts of the leadership of *The New York Review*. It certainly happened with Vietnam and Iran/*contra*. It gets the juices flowing."

Some observers point to a circular continuity between the *Review*'s coverage of Vietnam and Iraq. "The late 1960s, for the paper, were, to some extent, the age of Chomsky," says Harvard professor Stanley Hoffmann. "The *Review* was a very strong critic of the Vietnam War. Gradually it became less militant, if you like. And indeed in the last year it has found some of its old vigor again, but it never lost what can be called a highly critical viewpoint about a number of aspects of international relations and foreign affairs."

New York Times film critic A.O. Scott, who got his start at the *Review*, takes the view that Bush's shenanigans on Iraq have "reawakened the youthful energies of some of these people." He's referring to Judt and Mailer, but the same sentiment may well apply to Silvers and Epstein. In the run-up to the Iraq war, Silvers phoned Judt in London—at 3 AM—and begged him to draft the text of a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* protesting the rush to war. "He thought this was an urgent matter," recalls Judt. The same urgency propelled Silvers to track down Brady Kiesling in Greece and obtain permission to reprint his resignation letter. These faint echoes of the late 1960s—late-night phone calls, antiwar petitions, diplomatic contretemps—must have provided Silvers with at least a fleeting sense of déjà vu.

In the case of Iraq, as with Vietnam, the *Review* saw what many other commentators missed or ignored. "In both instances," Hoffmann says, "Bob Silvers was, in effect, whether deliberately or not, compensating for the weaknesses of the more established media." Hoffmann recalls that Silvers and Epstein published some of the earliest criticisms of the Indochinese conflict—years before the mainstream press awoke from its slumber. "It was important," he says, in the case of Iraq, "that a journal which has the authority of the *Review* in a sense took up the slack and presented viewpoints which were extremely hard to get into the established media."

Indeed, a great many *Review* contributors have objected to the media's performance since 9/11, and few were as lucid as Norman Mailer. With war imminent, Mailer noted that support for a full-scale invasion of Iraq was prevalent within influential sectors of the "liberal" media. Dissecting a *New York Times* op-ed column by Bill Keller, in which Keller aired his ambivalent prowar sentiments, Mailer noted, with pitch-perfect accuracy, "It is as if these liberal voices have decided that Bush cannot be stopped and so he must be joined." How refreshing to see Norman Mailer aggressively confront the Bill Kellers of the world; and how refreshing, too, to see the *Review* once again engaged in pugilistic combat on the pressing issues of the day.

It's probably too much to infer, as Mailer does, that Silvers and Epstein were "radicalized" by Bush, since they are not radical people by background or temperament. One suspects they yearn for the day when they can return to their normal publishing routine—that gentlemanly pastiche of philosophy, art, classical music, photography, German and Russian history, East European politics, literary fiction—unencumbered by political duties of a confrontational or oppositional nature. That day has not yet arrived. If and when it does, let it be said that the editors met the challenges of the post-9/11 era in a way that most other leading American publications did not, and that *The New York Review of Books*—which turned forty last fall—was there when we needed it most. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

prise," in which representatives of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign are said to have negotiated with Iran's revolutionary government to keep the US hostages in Tehran until after the November election. For them to have come home beforehand had the potential to re-elect incumbent Democrat Jimmy Carter. Bush Senior was supposedly working with ex-CIA agents and a rump faction within the CIA itself. In 1990, some have said, Bush used the CIA to overstate the case that Saddam's troops and tanks were poised on the border of Saudi Arabia ready to invade that oil-rich nation as well as Kuwait.

That George W. Bush happily took advantage of this same milieu leaps out of his own business career. In the late 1970s, one early funder of his Arbusto oil business was James Bath, who had a CIA connection to Bush Senior. Bath was also the Texas representative and disbursing agent for two Saudi families—the bin Ladens and the bin Mahfouzes. In the late 1990s, yet another failed George W. Bush oil business had to be bought out. The willing financial angel, Harken Energy, had a half-dozen documented ties to BCCI—the Abu Dhabi–based Bank of Credit and Commerce International. The bank's additional ties to the CIA have been described in a number of books.

When George W. Bush took office in 2001, one can imagine him having a sense of the US intelligence community as something to be used and occasionally abused. Clearly, that involved a White House attempt to focus a lot more on Saddam Hussein, the family bogeyman, and somewhat less on the bin Ladens. Apparently, the CIA was pressured to deliver one set of supposed weapons proofs and to suppress the other side, although director George Tenet himself appears to have been ready to slice the baloney in any way suggested. Sadly, White House appointments to the new "commission" investigating the intelligence failures in Iraq and elsewhere included federal judge Lawrence Silberman as co-chairman, doubtless because of his broad experience. Lawrence Walsh, the former Republican Deputy Attorney General who served as the Iran/*contra* special prosecutor from 1987 to 1992, criticized Silberman in his book *Firewall* as someone who had been on the periphery of the 1980 October Surprise negotiations and who, as a federal appeals court judge, helped to tank the Iran/*contra* prosecution. I regret that *American Dynasty* was written before George W. Bush could be so firmly placed on this lesser side of his family's traditions.

KEVIN PHILLIPS

DREW REPLIES

Washington, DC

■ I am surprised that Kevin Phillips is quibbling with my positive review of his very interesting book. I wrote that I thought Phillips "goes too far" in claiming that the CIA put Bush and his father in power, and that he is exaggerating its current power, especially given the Pentagon's setting up its own intelligence group to gather "information" about Iraq, which the President apparently found more convincing than the CIA's doubts. I still think so. And I also still find his book highly valuable. ELIZABETH DREW

A FOX ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES

■ In Paul Savoy's "The Moral Case Against the Iraq War," in last week's issue, the cable drama *The Shield* appears not on Fox but on Fox affiliate FX.

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

noting that "security in a hostile fire area is a classic military mission." These are useful first steps toward what must become a thorough, top-to-bottom "policy audit" of Pentagon privatization, with an eye to taking back key functions into the public sphere.

It's time to roll back the latest wave of military outsourcing and acknowledge that there are certain things that are too important to leave to hired guns. WILLIAM D. HARTUNG

William D. Hartung is a senior research fellow at the World Policy Institute and the author of How Much Are You Making on the War, Daddy?—A Quick and Dirty Guide to War Profiteering in the Bush Administration *(Nation Books).*

India's Radical Vote

New Delhi

The Indian people have delivered a stunning electoral blow to the right-wing National Democratic Alliance, led by the Hindu-chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party, and paved the way for a multiparty rainbow coalition under the Congress Party. The early election, called by a supremely confident NDA, has produced a tectonic political shift, signifying a change in the balance of forces in favor of the plebeian majority—and against India's tiny, rapacious elite comprising a tenth of the population. It heralds a healthy change in domestic policies and a progressive global role for India.

The vote's pattern is complex, regionally differentiated and reflective of India's diversity. But the broad trend is unmistakable: The people have voted against pro-corporate, pro-rich neoliberal policies that impoverish the majority; they've rejected the Hindu-fundamentalist politics of exclusivism and Islamophobia; and they've reaffirmed their commitment to pluralism and secularism.

To understand the verdict's significance, it's best to look at three dissimilar states—Andhra Pradesh, noted for the computer-savvy Chandrababu Naidu and investments by Microsoft; Gujarat, where 2,000 Muslims were butchered in 2002 in a state-sponsored pogrom under chief minister Narendra Modi; and Uttar Pradesh, where Hindu fanatics razed a sixteenth-century mosque in 1992.

Naidu was ignominiously defeated by the Congress and Communist parties and a regional group in Parliament and state elections—a punishment for his unabashedly pro-investor policies and callousness toward his people. For Naidu, it was always more important to rub shoulders with corporate moguls at Davos's World Economic Forum than to bother about the suicides of more than 3,000 highly indebted farmers, crushed by high power and water charges (thanks to privatization) and cheap imports. His IT balloon—information technology accounts for just 3 percent of state GDP—burst when it was revealed that Andhra's software rank had slumped. Naidu failed another test when he refused to demand that his ally, the BJP, bring the Gujarat pogrom's perpetrators to book.

Gujarat is the one state where the BJP has ruled on its own, and for long years, with firm support. It was forecast it would sweep Gujarat—just as it did in the 2002 state elections despite the anti-Muslim carnage. Instead, it lost in half the constituencies. It performed worst in those very areas where the anti-Muslim violence was most virulent—penalized by an electorate ultimately disenchanted with Hindu chauvinism.

In largely rural Uttar Pradesh, the BJP's tally fell by three-fifths. Acute agrarian distress—mounting losses from farming and food insecurity, attributable to elitist policies—produced strong anti-BJP opinion. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the party's star campaigner, around whom it built a personality cult, failed to attract voters. He turned to the group the BJP despises the most—Muslims—and when that appeal failed, tried to divert Muslim votes away from the Congress. The result signifies a major shrinking of the BJP/NDA's social base in the populous north.

The NDA did badly in most cities too—thanks to the urban poor's revolt against policies that have doubled unemployment. Under the NDA, India had lower GDP growth than in the preceding six years, while poverty ratios worsened and health indices declined. Despite new jobs from countries that have outsourced them, employment in the organized sector has shrunk. (Most unorganized employment involves sweatshop jobs.) Today, an average family annually consumes eighty-eight pounds less food than it did a decade ago. India's rank in the United Nations Human Development Index fell from 115 to 127 between 1999 and 2001.

Economic distress—and anger at collapsing services and privatization of public assets—is impelling a search for radical alternatives. Unfortunately, the Communist left (modern social democrats in practice) has refused to join the new government, largely out of timidity and fear that it won't be able to change the direction of the Congress-led economic policy. But the left will influence it from outside—especially on economic policy and in "detoxifying" institutions and textbooks of Hindu-fundamentalist distortions calculated to deny the plural nature of India's society and glorify its "Hindu past"—itself a myth.

India under the new government is likely to be less servile to the United States and to stress nonalignment and a multipolar world order. It is likely to carry forward the resistance displayed at Cancún, in conjunction with Brazil, China and South Africa, to Western pressures on opening up trade. It is inclined to go forward with the peace process with Pakistan and China.

But it's not clear if the BJP will let it. It took its election defeat badly and threatened to launch a vengeful campaign against making a person of "foreign origin" prime minister—despite the people's verdict and India's Constitution, which bars discrimination on grounds of "place of birth." The BJP's xenophobic campaign is one reason Sonia Gandhi, apparently concerned the agitation would produce uncontrollable strife, decided not to become prime minister. This has heightened her moral stature and further discredited the BJP. But unless Manmohan Singh's new government courageously adopts left-leaning, pro-poor policies, it could fritter away its mandate. PRAFUL BIDWAI

Praful Bidwai, a Delhi-based columnist, is a peace and human rights activist. He recently co-wrote New Nukes: India, Pakistan and Global Nuclear Disarmament *(Interlink).*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The North Korean Conundrum

SELIG S. HARRISON

In the prevailing American stereotype, North Korea is a failing Stalinist dictatorship held together only by the ruthless repression of a mad ruler who dreams of firing nuclear weapons at Los Angeles. Sooner or later, in this imagery, the Kim Jong Il regime, strangled in its Communist straitjacket, will crumble economically, and the only issue is whether its collapse will come in the form of an implosion or an explosion.

For George W. Bush, who says he "loathes" Kim Jong Il and wants to "topple" his regime, the assumption that Kim's power rests solely on repression has shaped the current US policy response to the much-discussed North Korean nuclear weapons program. Given patience and enough pressure on Pyongyang, Bush and his advisers appear to believe, the Kim regime will fall. Thus, it is neither necessary nor desirable to reward Kim for denuclearization with economic quid pro quos and security assurances that would merely help to keep him afloat.

What accounts for the emotional intensity of the Bush Administration's desire for "regime change" in Pyongyang? More broadly, does the conventional wisdom in the United States about the nature of the North Korean system, reflected in US policy, rest on an informed assessment of what enables Kim to survive?

The President's own explanation is that Kim is loathsome because he presides over an Orwellian totalitarian system. But one can agree that the North Korean system is indeed Orwellian while disputing the wisdom of a policy of confrontation. Moreover, there are other reasons why Pyongyang is demonized in Administration policy. North Korea challenges two American articles of faith: that the United States is entitled to be treated with deference as the "only superpower," and that Western-style democracy, together with economic globalization based on market principles, is now the natural, universal order of things.

Pyongyang refuses to defer to the United States and seeks to deal with Washington on a basis of sovereign equality despite its inferior power position. Although eager to obtain foreign capital and technology, it is seeking to do so selectively, on its own terms, resisting pressure for wholesale political and economic reforms, all at once, that might weaken the control of the Korean Workers Party regime. Above all, what exasperates many Americans about North Korea, no doubt including the President, is the very fact that it continues to exist at all and has not gone the way of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist states; thus finally confirming the ideological victory of the West in the cold war.

Media coverage of the nuclear negotiations with North Korea generally places Pyongyang in the position of the defendant at the bar in a judicial proceeding, with the United States in the role of judge, jury and executioner. Rarely does a journalist go beyond what is spoon-fed at State Department or White House briefings to examine the assumptions underlying US policy or make a serious effort to present the North Korean side of the story. This is partly because North Korea often smothers its position in a flood of crude anti-imperialist rhetoric that is painful to wade through and difficult to evaluate even for the journalist seeking to be objective. But it is also because most journalists facing a deadline are not given the time necessary to seek out elusive North Korean diplomats, or to read books about North Korea.

In any case, even if they did do their homework, much of the literature on North Korea has until recently reinforced simplistic, negative stereotypes. Most of the authors

Selig S. Harrison, author of Korean Endgame: A Strategy for Reunification and US Disengagement *(Princeton), is director of the Asia program at the Center for International Policy. He has visited North Korea eight times and met the late Kim Il Sung twice.* Korean Endgame *won the 2002 Association of American Publishers award for Best Professional/Scholarly Book in Government and Political Science.*

NORTH KOREA: Another Country.
By Bruce Cumings.
New Press.
241 pp. $24.95.

THE NORTH KOREAN REVOLUTION: 1945–1950.
By Charles K. Armstrong.
Cornell.
265 pp. Paper $19.95.

NUCLEAR NORTH KOREA: A Debate on Engagement Strategies.
By David Kang and Victor Cha.
Columbia.
265 pp. $24.50.

CRISIS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA: How to Deal With a Nuclear North Korea.
By Michael O'Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki.
McGraw-Hill.
173 pp. $19.95.

NORTH KOREA, SOUTH KOREA: U.S. Policy at a Time of Crisis.
By John Feffer.
Seven Stories.
197 pp. Paper $9.95.

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writing about North Korea have never been there and have had to base their assessments on interviews with defectors who were generally beholden, during the cold war, to South Korean intelligence agencies, or by working within the parameters defined by North Korea's propaganda output, much as Kremlinologists did in earlier decades. One of the more carefully researched books of this genre—*North Korea Through the Looking Glass*, by Kongdan Oh and Ralph Hassig—advertised its limitations with its title.

The media hype generated by the nuclear negotiations has now led to a spate of new books about North Korea and how to deal with it. Two of these, *North Korea: Another Country*, by Bruce Cumings, and *The North Korean Revolution: 1945–1950*, by Charles K. Armstrong, make powerfully clear why the Kim regime is not on the verge of collapse.

Cumings, the doyen of US historians of contemporary Korea, is best known for his definitive two-volume study of the origins of the Korean War. To understand the nationalistic ethos that gives North Korea its political cohesion and staying power, he writes, it is necessary to recognize the traumatic impact of the US role in the war. In September 1950, Harry Truman made his fateful decision to enlarge the conflict, even though North Korean forces had been successfully pushed out of South Korea. The proper response to North Korean aggression, Cumings argues, would have been to "reestablish the 38th Parallel and claim a victory for the containment doctrine." Instead, Truman and Dean Acheson "decided to transform their undeclared war into a campaign to liberate North Korea."

American soldiers marched northward toward the Yalu River border with China, provoking Chinese intervention, and the US Air Force rained destruction on North Korea until the armistice was concluded, in 1953. To escape from American planes, any one of which, in North Korean eyes, might have dropped an atomic bomb, most of the population lived and worked in hastily excavated underground caverns complete with their own schools, hospitals and small factories. The South suffered brutal but relatively brief anguish from air attacks during the latter part of 1950, with Pyongyang using little close air support in its operations there. The North, by contrast, endured three years of heavy US bombing in addition to the Yalu offensive. This unremitting assault from the air, plus a bloody US–South Korean occupation, left a deeply rooted siege mentality in the North that persists today.

Appealing for support in the name of a continuing US threat, North Korean leaders point to the many reminders that the Korean War is not yet over: the maintenance of most of the economic sanctions imposed during the war; the presence of US forces in the South, still operating under the same UN command structure used during the war; and above all, the legal reality that the armistice has not been transformed into a peace treaty.

It was John Foster Dulles's threat of using nuclear weapons that broke the impasse in the armistice negotiations, Cumings reminds us, and in the decades thereafter the United States "has consistently based its deterrence on threats to use them...in Korea," threats backed up by the presence of US tactical nuclear weapons in the South until 1991. The invasion of Iraq and the explicit US assertion of the right to take pre-emptive military action elaborated in the Bush Administration's National Security Strategy of September 17, 2002, is progressively hardening support within North Korea for nuclear weapons—not to strike Los Angeles, which would invite US retaliation, but to deter a US attack.

Many Western historians writing about North Korea during the cold war depicted Kim Jong Il's father, the late Kim Il Sung, as a supine puppet installed by Soviet forces, likened the new North Korean state to Eastern European Communist satellites and belittled North Korean accounts of Kim Il Sung's role as a guerrilla hero who fought Japanese forces in Manchuria during the Korean anticolonial struggle.

Cumings shows that Kim did in fact earn legitimacy as "a classic Robin Hood figure" who helped poor Korean farmers in the Kapsan area bordering Manchuria during the Japanese colonial period and as a fervent nationalist who led guerrilla attacks against

From the Prompter's Box

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Voice; and my inner rating service smiles.

No. No, the program never credits Prompter.
The same as nursing, ours is a self-reliant
Calling regarded as its own reward...
Although, in fairness, the brightest stars remember
To breathe a private "thank you" at the curtain.

Just like a turntable set, sight lines shifted
The day I gazed at that smooth slab of his—
The Unknown Soldier, who then began to prompt:
Mobilized for an afterlife of marble,
I'm bunked here in a tomb not granted those

Whose shining names appear on that bronze roster.
Distinctions should be met with gratitude;
Which holds, at least until the censers exit.
I paid what we all owe. And would again,
Allowed to exchange this blank for clear inscriptions

Recording what I did beside my name.
A greater loss than death? Identity!
Homage rings hollow on an anonymous crypt.
From nil and dark the self I knew calls out
For the small tag love once attached me to.

Alfred Corn

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Japanese forces in southern and southeastern Manchuria from 1933 to 1940. His extensive citations from the latest scholarly research include recently unearthed Japanese intelligence reports describing Kim as the "most famous" and a "particularly popular" leader of Korean émigrés in Manchuria, with "a great reputation and a high position," a "Korean hero" in the struggle against Japan.

As for Kim's installation by Soviet forces, Cumings establishes that the Russians had "no clear-cut plan or predetermined course of action" during the early months of the occupation and had someone else in mind to head the new Pyongyang regime. However, precisely because Kim had such a tight-knit following among the guerrilla cohort who had fought with him in Manchuria, "after the guerrillas returned, they pushed [him] forward as first among equals." Kim was no mere stooge of the Russians, in short, and he began playing off Moscow and Beijing against each other to suit Korean nationalist purposes as soon as Soviet forces departed.

Charles K. Armstrong demolishes the analogy between North Korea and the erstwhile Communist regimes of Eastern Europe with incontestable evidence drawn from 1.6 million pages of declassified North Korean documents captured during the Korean War.

Instead of "working through a small, elite vanguard party in the typical Leninist fashion" exemplified in Eastern Europe, Armstrong shows, Kim Il Sung built a "powerful support base...among the poor and marginal elements of [Korean] society," especially the poor peasant majority, workers and women, as he had done in mobilizing popular resistance in Manchuria. During Japanese colonial rule, the number of landless farm laborers had multiplied. Rapacious landlords oppressed their tenant farmers, who were forced to pay crushing rents that often exceeded 60 percent of their total crop and lived on a bare subsistence diet. In March 1946, just a month after emerging as the leader of the Provisional People's Committee, which later evolved into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Kim Il Sung pushed through sweeping land reforms that gave the Workers Party its strong rural foundations.

Although the new state initially called itself Communist, Communism in Korea was soon "absorbed and transformed" by the hierarchical structure and Confucian social values that had characterized Korea over the centuries. "Communism took root in North Korea," Armstrong concludes, precisely because Korean society was so conservative. On the one hand, "the possibility of breaking down old hierarchies was deeply attractive to many at the bottom of the social ladder," while at the same time, Korea's Confucian heritage enabled Kim Il Sung to create "new hierarchical structures even more rigid than the old, and just as resistant to change." Or, as a South Korean scholar cited by Cumings puts it, North Korea became "a new Confucian society or family-state that is well integrated as an extension of filial piety, expressed through strong loyalty to its leader."

"An odd aspect of the DPRK's belief in the family as the core unit of society," Cumings observes, is that prisoners are generally sent to labor camps together with their families, and mutual family support enables many to survive the ordeal. Cumings does not minimize the ugly horror of North Korea's gulag. Indeed, he accepts the higher estimates of the number of prisoners, citing a South Korean intelligence figure of 150,000, half criminals and half political cases. The gulag symbolizes the dark side of a repressive system that stifles unrest resulting primarily from continuing economic failures, especially in agriculture. Although only 14 percent of North Korea's mountainous terrain is arable, the government has made matters worse with collective farming; the floods of 1995 and 1996 led to near-famine conditions in many provinces. As the *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof has observed, "The best metaphor for North Korea is the medieval church. Much of the population consists of genuine believers, and no one pays enormous attention to the minority of heretics who are tortured and killed, the way witches or Christians of a dissident sect were killed during the Middle Ages."

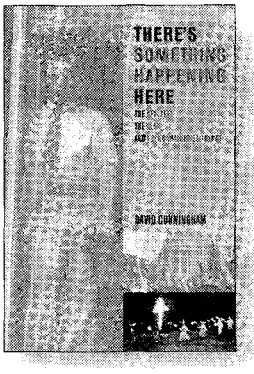
Like most advocates of accommodation with Pyongyang, Cumings suggests that external pressure on the Kim regime will only reinforce internal repression and delay the liberalizing trends now being stimulated by growing contacts with the outside world.

Both Armstrong and Cumings present evidence relevant to the current policy debate about how to deal with North Korea. But Armstrong's book is specialized academic fare, too rigorous and detailed for the general reader. Cumings, by contrast, resting on his long-established scholarly laurels, writes in a lively, readable, argumentative, often delightfully irreverent style. His book should be read by anyone seriously interested in an authoritative antidote to the bias and superficiality in most of what is written about North Korea.

North Korea: Another Country indicts

HOMELAND RESISTANCE

There's Something Happening Here
The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence
by David Cunningham



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not only the Bush policy toward North Korea but also the entire US role in Korea dating back to the US-Soviet division of the peninsula in 1945. Significantly, however, Cumings questions one of the key arguments made by some other critics of US policy: that Kim Jong Il would move toward sustained economic reforms as the result of an accommodation with Washington. "North Korea is neither muddling through toward some sort of postcommunism, the way other socialist states did after 1989," he argues, "nor is it seriously reforming like China and Vietnam.... Any kind of coordinated reform seems difficult for the regime to accomplish." In addition to the "paralysis and immobilism" resulting from warfare between bureaucratic and provincial fiefdoms, the drag of a vast party apparatus, the privileged position of the armed forces and intense generational conflict, he finds the leadership "deeply frightened by the consequences of opening up the economy."

This assessment, made with little elaboration, is challenged effectively in a detailed analysis by Professor David Kang of the Dartmouth Business School, who presents the case for accommodation in *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*, written with Victor Cha. North Korea has already come "very far" from its command economy of 1989, Kang says, citing the upsurge of private markets since the 1996 famine, a package of economic reforms enacted in July 2002, including a new pricing system, and an overall growth of the private sector in the past five years from less than 4 percent to perhaps 25 percent of the economy. Continuing signs of reform are accompanied by "growing evidence that North Korea is serious about opening to the West," notably its efforts to provide a legal framework for foreign investment. Significant reforms cannot succeed without such an opening, Kang emphasizes, and "a hardline policy of pressure and threats from the United States will not start a war but will jeopardize" the gains that have been made.

In contrast to Kang's empirically based argument, Cha is didactic, relying on doctrinaire assumptions and fancy political science jargon. An advocate of what he calls "hawk engagement," he spells out in revealing detail why the Bush Administration refuses to deal directly with North Korea and what it hopes to gain through multilateral negotiations like those recently conducted in Beijing. Rejecting Kang's contention that Kim Jong Il no longer poses a military threat and wants to open up to the West, Cha maintains that Pyongyang, desperate for a way out of a systemic crisis, is likely to use "other forms of violence short of all-out war," such as a "limited but forceful frontal assault into the South" designed to strengthen its bargaining position with Seoul. A cold war–style policy of "containment and isolation" in response to this danger, he says, might lead to an undesired war. "Conditional engagement" would be less provocative. It would "make clear to...regional powers that the U.S. [has] exhausted all efforts at cooperation" and would "rally the coalition to coerce the regime through force and economic sanctions into nonproliferation compliance and/or regime collapse." Such a policy can only succeed, he concedes, with the cooperation of China, Russia, Japan and South Korea.

Far from building a coalition to isolate North Korea, Bush's policy of 'hawk engagement' is damaging America's relations with its allies.

"Hawk engagement," he tells us frankly, is not designed to achieve a diplomatic settlement but is rather "an exit strategy that builds a coalition for punishment," "an instrument to reveal the DPRK's true, unchanged intentions" and a way to exacerbate tensions within the North Korean elite, "contributing to possible...clashes or coup attempts that might precipitate the regime's crumbling from the top." If North Korea continues to develop its nuclear weapons program, the United States and those allies willing to help would "intercept any vessels suspected of carrying nuclear- or missile-related materials in and out of the North."

Far from building a coalition to isolate North Korea, however, "hawk engagement" is increasingly damaging US relations with China, Russia, South Korea and Japan, all of whom, to varying degrees, put much of the blame for the impasse with Pyongyang on US rigidity, as they have made clear in recent weeks. All of them are opposed to the interdiction of North Korean vessels and other coercive measures proposed by Cha, because they recognize that such muscle-flexing could trigger a chain reaction of escalation, leading to another Korean war.

If John Kerry is elected and reshapes Korea policy next January, he should carefully consider some of the ideas in *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal With a Nuclear North Korea*. Michael O'Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki propose a "grand bargain" in which North Korea would get $2 billion in aid per year for a decade, mostly from Japan but including some $300 million from the United States. In return, it would agree to complete and verifiable denuclearization over "a course of years"; an end to the testing, production, deployment and export of medium- and long-range missiles; and sweeping cuts of at least 50 percent in all major types of its heavy weaponry, as part of a broad arms control agreement in which the United States and South Korea would also cut their conventional forces in Korea.

O'Hanlon and Mochizuki's arms control proposal is their most valuable contribution, though the terms suggested would have to be modified to make the deal equitable and acceptable to North Korea. For example, it is the qualitative superiority of US air power based in Korea that makes North Korea vulnerable to a US pre-emptive attack, and explains its massive forward deployment of tanks and artillery as a deterrent. Yet the proposed cuts in aircraft are frankly designed to retain this superiority. "For allied forces," they suggest, "the net loss in capability as a result of the arms control proposal would be less in percentage terms" than that of the North. This is calculated to make their proposal more palatable to the Pentagon, but it makes it a nonstarter in Pyongyang.

As described by O'Hanlon and Mochizuki, their "grand bargain" goes beyond "carrots and sticks" to what they call "steaks and sledgehammers." But this approach is simply a new and more sophisticated variant of US efforts for the past decade to use the normalization of relations with Pyongyang as a reward for the cessation of its nuclear program. After repeated failures, it is clearly time to reassess this approach, which is what John Feffer does in his lucid, hard-hitting overview, *North Korea, South Korea: U.S. Policy at a Time of Crisis*. Feffer visited both North Korea and South Korea frequently and represented the American Friends Service Committee in Northeast Asia. He has produced a perceptive, gracefully written book placing the nuclear crisis in a broader policy perspective that embraces the peninsula as a whole, all in 173 easily digestible pages.

The United States should uncouple normalization and denuclearization, Feffer concludes, and "immediately begin the process of establishing diplomatic relations with North Korea. Rather than a bargaining chip, normalized relations thus become a framework for addressing all outstanding U.S.-North Korean issues."

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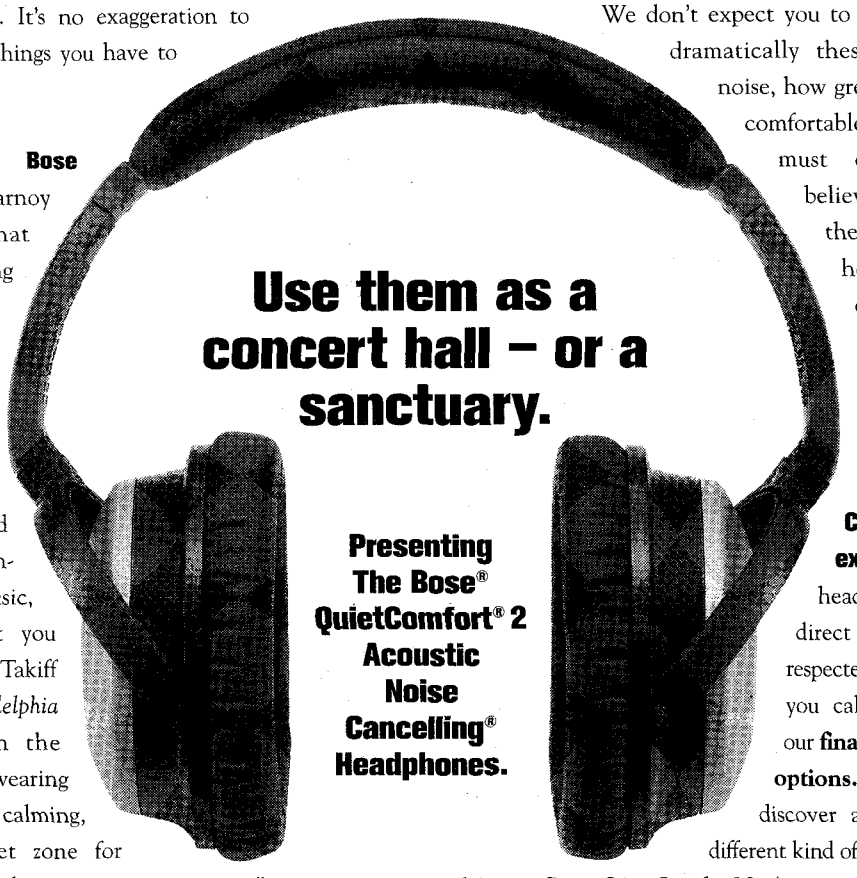

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My own visits to North Korea, eight since 1972, support his view that "North Korea will not likely feel secure enough to relinquish its nuclear deterrent if it forever remains an outlier, and normalization is an important step toward a future in which North Korea is unlikely to use whatever weapons of destruction it possesses." The idea of uncoupling the nuclear issue from normalization has also been suggested by an influential Japanese security expert, Masashi Nishihara, director of the National Defense Academy in Tokyo.

With six other Americans, including two former US ambassadors to South Korea, I recently participated in a three-day dialogue with a high-level North Korean delegation headed by Jo Sung Ju, American Affairs director in the Foreign Ministry. Repeatedly, the North Koreans emphasized that "coexistence" is the key to resolving the nuclear crisis. What North Korea wants above all, they said, is a formal security guarantee that would not only revoke the threat of a pre-emptive US attack but would also pledge to "respect the sovereignty" of North Korea by abandoning the often-stated goal of regime change.

"Why would we need nuclear weapons if we no longer feel threatened?" asked one. "Why would we give up our right to have them if you keep talking about regime change? It's as simple as that." ■

The Metaphysical Couple

CAROL BRIGHTMAN

LETTERS 1925–1975: By Hannah Arendt and Martin Heidegger.
Edited by Ursula Ludz. Translated by Andrew Shields. Harcourt. 335 pp. $28.

This book has a past, which begins at least in 1995, when Elzbieta Ettinger brought out a controversial account of the unpublished correspondence between Hannah Arendt and Martin Heidegger, but probably much earlier. It was 1982 when Arendt's biographer, Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, described the "first amour," as Arendt called it, in some detail. And for years before Arendt's death in 1975, the affair with Heidegger, and even more its aftermath, was known to her second husband, Heinrich Blücher, and to many close friends. It was not an experience that could be kept secret; not by Arendt, who was moved at a time—she was 18 when she met Heidegger in Marburg in 1924—that left her moved forever.

But it was the publication of Ettinger's *Hannah Arendt/Martin Heidegger*—which drew upon a half-century of unpublished correspondence that she was unable to quote directly at the time—that brought this improbable and disturbing relationship to the attention of a wider public. (Less than a quarter of the surviving letters are by Arendt, something Ettinger ignored.) According to Ettinger, Arendt succumbed to a "girlish crush" that never wore off. When she was reunited with Heidegger in Germany after the war, the story goes, she was struck as much by their continuing love as by his political misdeeds, and resolved to defend him in the court of public opinion even if that meant downplaying the importance of her own work, which subverted Heidegger's project from within. Arendt, she says, "gave her love freely, happily, defying convention. She held up for Heidegger a mirror in which was reflected an almost godlike being," while Heidegger retained a "capacity for ruthlessness and cunning," and a "constant need of worship and adulation." He "was in a position of power. He enjoyed power, and he used it as he saw fit." He "reinforced the 'slavish' streak in her," Ettinger wrote.

Sensationalist though it was, *Hannah Arendt/Martin Heidegger* was reviewed seriously, even by its harshest critics, because it purported to unlock the mysteries of a relationship that has troubled Arendt's admirers while confirming the longstanding prejudices of her detractors that, in Gershom Scholem's words, she had "no love of the Jewish people." How could a Jewish philosopher, the author of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and an unswerving critic of fascism and intolerance, have fallen in love with a philosopher of the German right—and, moreover, refused to break with him even after his sordid record of Nazi collaboration was starkly revealed? For critics of Arendt's explosive book on the Eichmann trial, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, the Heidegger relationship was added to her list of unforgivable sins, and was advanced by some as an "explanation" of her intellectual failings. "Hannah Arendt did not only have a Jewish problem," Richard Wolin wrote in a caustic review of Ettinger's book in *The New Republic*. "She also had a Heidegger problem. And they were, in many respects, intertwined with each other."

But were they? With the publication of the Arendt-Heidegger correspondence, edited by Ursula Ludz, it is finally possible to assess the meaning of the relationship. Arendt may have been guilty of poor judgment in maintaining ties with a man who failed to repudiate his National Socialist involvement, but Ettinger substitutes a banal fantasy for what the letters say, and one is hard-pressed to believe she refers to the same material.

When Arendt first met Heidegger, she was a young philosophy student in Weimar Germany on her own for the first time. Fiercely independent yet full of melancholy, she was older than her years, a romantic in a way people are not romantic anymore. Heidegger, for his part, was 35, married and the father of two young sons. He was approaching the end of his masterpiece *Being and Time* (1927), a critique of Western metaphysics that revolutionized philosophy. (As Sartre's 1943 Heideggerian tome *Being and Nothingness* demonstrated, one didn't have to be German or a nationalist or conservative to believe the book topped all previous philosophy.) Heidegger was at the witching age, when, according to Jung, one reaches a fork in the road and chooses, or not, to reflect on one's life, to place it on a solid footing. Hannah Arendt was caught up in his search; she became, in a sense, the means by which he could both experience love and love himself.

In his first letter, written just before their affair began, Heidegger wrote: "Dear Miss Arendt! I must see you this evening and speak to your heart.... You are my pupil and I your teacher, but that is only the occasion for what has happened to us. I will never be able to call you mine, but from now on you will belong in my life, and it shall grow with you." A few days later, on February 21, 1925, came the second: "Dear Hannah! Why is love rich beyond all other possible human experiences and a sweet burden to those seized in its grasp? Because we become what we love and yet remain ourselves. Then we want to thank the be-

Carol Brightman edited Between Friends: The Correspondence of Hannah Arendt and Mary McCarthy, 1949–1975 *and is the author of* Total Insecurity: The Myth of American Omnipotence *(Verso), which will appear in September.*

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loved, but find nothing that suffices.... Love," he decided, "transforms gratitude into loyalty to ourselves and unconditional faith in the other." Three months later, he told her that "Augustine once said: I love you—I want you to be what you are."

This last was a saying Arendt never forgot. It may have inspired her to write her dissertation on St. Augustine's concept of love, just as falling in love with Heidegger led her to start her book in 1930 about the nineteenth-century Jewish figure Rahel Varnhagen, whose salon was the center of the German Romantic movement, and who nearly married the gentile Count von Finckenstein. "To be what you are" comes close to defining Arendt's sense of herself, of the endless portents that lay in her being. And Varnhagen's diaries came close to evoking Arendt's inner life.

Though Arendt was appalled by Heidegger's collaboration with Nazism, she sought him out when she visited Europe after the war.

In the first part of *Letters 1925–1975*, which covers the years of their affair until the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, there are only three letters from Hannah, plus the essay "Shadows," and forty-one letters from Heidegger. According to Heidegger's son, the two had sworn to destroy the other's early correspondence; the three letters from Arendt are copies, and the later ones are carbons. Only in 1966, beginning in the section titled "Autumn," did Heidegger start saving Arendt's letters. Meanwhile, every letter from Heidegger, including notes—"Do you want to come to the wood this evening? But only around 10. For I have exams until 8..."—was kept by Arendt in a bedroom drawer.

The first extant letter from Arendt, written on April 22, 1928, in Heidelberg, where she had gone to write her dissertation on St. Augustine under the direction of Karl Jaspers, begins *in medias res*: "So you aren't coming now—I think I understand. But still I have been anxious in the last few days..." She and Heidegger were meeting less frequently since she'd left Marburg in late 1925. He wasn't happy with the change: "I understand, but that doesn't make it any easier to bear," he wrote on January 10, 1926. And a few lines later: "I forgot you—not from indifference...but because I had to forget and will forget you whenever I withdraw into the final stages of my work." The letter jolts back and forth, from "I can well imagine that 'Heidegger disciples' are hardly a pleasant phenomenon," to "perhaps your decision will become an example and will help me clear the air"; but it does not confirm Ettinger's belief that Heidegger rejected Hannah. Arendt's 1928 letter continues: "The path you showed me is longer and more difficult than I thought"; and is signed, "And, if God choose, I shall love thee better after death," a quote from *Sonnets From the Portuguese* by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and not, as Ettinger suggested, Arendt's death wish. The correspondence testifies to the seriousness of this relationship, for both of them.

Arendt's second letter, probably written in 1929, refers to "the trust that our last reunion in Heidelberg once more newly and gratifyingly strengthened," and asks Heidegger to "not forget me, and do not forget how much...I know that our love has become the blessing of my life." She has married fellow student Günther Stern. In the third letter, Heidegger has come for a visit and stands at the window of the train with Günther. "So many things that had left me utterly confused came together. Not just... how the sight of you always rekindles my awareness of life's clearest and most urgent continuity, of the continuity of our—*please* let me say it—love. But: I had already stood before you," she said; "you had briefly looked up. And you did not recognize me." She told him how when she was a child her mother had once "stupidly" frightened her by pretending not to recognize her, as in the fairy tale about Dwarf Nose, "whose nose gets so long nobody recognizes him anymore.... I kept crying: but I am your child, I am your Hannah." Then the train was about to leave, and there they were, and she alone, "completely powerless. As always, nothing was left for me but to let it happen, and wait, wait, wait."

With Rahel Varnhagen, who also found illumination in suffering, she could say, "What am I doing? Nothing. I am letting life rain down upon me." But Arendt had moved to Berlin and with Stern participated in the underground railroad that ferried Communists out of Germany. She was closer to the Zionists, however; and by 1930, when people all over Germany were hailing Hitler as a savior, she was studying the history of German and European anti-Semitism. Arendt's dislike of intellectuals who failed to recognize the darkening political situation led her to reject the advances of Leo Strauss, the philosopher and future neocon guru, who met her in the Prussian State Library after Stern had fled Germany for Paris in early 1933. (Arendt and Stern were divorced in France.) Strauss's bitterness lasted for years, and grew worse when they found themselves at the same faculty at the University of Chicago in the 1960s, for she had pointed out the irony of his support for a political party that had no place for a Jew like him. Her conviction that "when one is attacked as a Jew one must defend oneself as a Jew, not as a German, not as a world-citizen" also led her to distance herself from Theodor Adorno, who had adopted his mother's Italian family name in 1933 in place of his father's more obviously Jewish name, Wiesengrund.

In his last letter to Arendt in the early period, written in the winter semester of 1932–33, Heidegger attempted to lay to rest the "rumors that are upsetting you" about his treatment of Jews, even as he drew closer to the Nazi Party. He was elected rector of Freiburg University, and in his inaugural address in the fall of 1933—when Arendt fled Germany for Paris with her mother—had claimed that Hitler would bring the German people back to spiritual health, and ended by giving the familiar salute to the audience's cries of *Sieg Heil*. It was true that he protected Jewish members of the faculty, though as Arendt wrote, "Hitler himself is said to have known 340 'first-rate Jews' "; and that he resigned after a year in protest against the interference of the Nazi minister of education, and no doubt for other reasons. But it was also true that he hoped in these early years that the author of *Mein Kampf* would benefit from his teaching. Arendt was appalled by his activities, and in a 1946 essay in *Partisan Review* called him a philosopher of "absolute egoism" and a "potential murderer" of his Jewish mentor Husserl.

Yet when she returned to Europe as the director of a Jewish organization, in search of stolen Jewish property, especially the contents of libraries, she looked up Heidegger in Germany. She was "the girl from abroad," she told him in her first letter in the second section (the note that summoned him to the Freiburg Hotel is missing); and soon after he sent her an untitled couplet—"In rare abruptness, Being's flash of light./ We peer, protect—turn toward the sight"—followed by "The Girl From Abroad": "The stranger,/even to yourself,/she is:/mountain of joy,/sea of sorrow,/desert of desire,/ dawn of arrival..." He gave her his translation of Sophocles' *Antigone* and two Heraclitus lectures from before the war. She gave him—"actually not just for you but also for your wife," an unrepentant Nazi—an essay

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Chinese Government Ignites World's Biggest Gold Rush

Gold Coin Ownership Legalized for First Time In over 50 Years—Surge In Worldwide Gold Demand Creates Shortage

Shown larger than actual size of 18 mm

SHANGHAI, China, Tuesday 8:55 AM — What happens when 1.2 *billion* people suddenly have the opportunity to own gold after more than half a century? And what if their country has been minting one of the world's most popular gold coins for years, but they've never had the chance to own it? This is the amazing story unfolding this moment in China, where the government is legalizing gold coin ownership for its citizens, the world's largest population.

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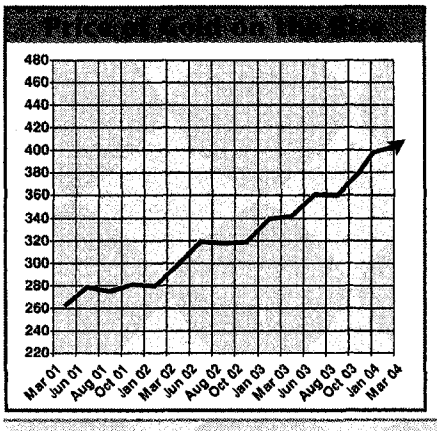

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Make no mistake, there is a huge pent-up demand for Panda coins in China. Several years ago, China sanctioned its first coin collector show. Chinese citizens had the opportunity to buy a simple brass Panda coin. Demand was so fierce that lines of eager buyers stretched out the doors and around the block. When it comes to gold, the Chinese are even more fanatical. When the Shanghai Gold Exchange recently opened for business, Chinese citizens bought 1.2 TONS of gold bars in just *one month!*

Chinese Bureaucracy Miscalculates

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she had published in *Jewish Frontier* in 1945, called "Organized Guilt and Universal Responsibility." In it, one finds the germ of the Eichmann thesis, the "mob man" for whom there is no longer any connection between "private and public functions, of family and occupation.... When his occupation forces him to murder people he does not regard himself as a murderer because he has not done it out of inclination but in his professional capacity." If Heidegger had any reaction to this, it's not in the letters. In fact, the rest of the correspondence contains no record of a discussion of the Nazi period, and no mention of Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*, which came out in 1951.

Despite misgivings about his past, Arendt had found in her reunion with her former mentor and lover "the confirmation of an entire life." Not only was her memory of their early rapport affirmed but she was struck by his isolation, by his unawareness of his worldwide reputation as a philosopher and by his political ineptitude. To her husband, Heinrich, she wrote: "The two of us had a real talk...for the first time in our lives, with the result that I had to think of my darned Snubby [Blücher's nickname], who's such a good judge of things"—an odd remark, suggesting If Not For Him.

The next day, over tea, she had an argument with Heidegger's wife, Elfride. As long as Hannah was alive, "she is ready to drown any Jew in sight.... But I'm going to try to defuse things as much as I can," she told Heinrich. And she did and didn't, as the letter shows, treating Mrs. Heidegger to tantalizing confessions, most likely intended for her husband, such as "Martin and I have probably sinned just as much against each other as against you"; and, "I did things later in connection with this affair that were so much worse that I did not remember the earlier things"—possibly a reference to her denunciations of Heidegger—and this curious statement: "Please believe one thing: what was and surely still is between us was never personal. At least not that I am aware of." Yet she managed to thank Elfride for breaking "the spell" of silence between them.

To Blücher, she said of Heidegger's wife: "For twenty-five years now, or from the time she somehow wormed the truth about us out of him, she has clearly made his life a hell on earth," Arendt wrote. "And he, who always, at every opportunity, has been such a notorious liar, evidently...never...refuted that I had been the passion of his life." It was this honesty in personal relations that allowed her to forgive Heidegger for his political crimes.

Heidegger speaks frankly in his poems, and there are dozens here. One, sent in March 1950, is called "November 1924," and addresses his earliest attraction to "that child": "If only from withdrawn grace,/she, the one, would fall toward me!/...renew the shyness of that child,/the gaze that bid me to be true,/fearing my failure all the while." He is particularly candid in the letters that follow Arendt's return ("I wish I could run the five-fingered comb through your frizzy hair"), until June 1952, when Elfride has had enough of Hannah, whose visits have grown more frequent. Before that, Heidegger had asked Hannah to stay as close to Elfride as she could; "I need her love, which bore everything in silence through the years and still has room to grow. I need your love, which, mysteriously maintained in its early seeds, brings hers from the depths." Perhaps there was good reason for him not to share "the joyousness...of our love" with his wife in 1925; but now, thanks to Arendt's return, he has no choice. And Heidegger, far from being in a position of power, was, at least in the domestic realm, at the mercy of his women.

Heidegger never denied that Arendt had been 'the passion of his life.' This honesty allowed her to forgive—but not forget—his crimes.

It was 1953 before Heidegger, who was still under a form of house arrest for his collaboration, was allowed to teach again. In the meantime, his need for Arendt's support was profound; and letter after letter until mid-1952, some twenty-two in all, are full of "metaphysical thinking," of the relationship between "existence" and "Being," and references to early manuscript drafts that Arendt had. "Oh you! most trusted one—if you were here—yet you are here.... But the great ocean between us," he wrote on May 16, 1950. "You remember: on a walk in the valley, we talked about language. *You are right about reconciliation and revenge*.... And then I dream—you would like living here after all, walking down interlocking forest paths.... As it is I have 'only' your picture." From Christmas 1952 to 1966, when Arendt no longer saw Heidegger, there are only eight letters from him, and these are stiffer: "Our forests and mountains are still standing, and are not yet weary of their essence. They send you their best at this Christmas season...." "*Tant pis pour moi*," she wrote Blücher from Germany in 1952, which didn't imply that "anything has changed between the two of us; that doesn't seem possible anymore," only that "he needs peace and quiet...which [Elfride] won't give him if I'm in the vicinity."

In 1966 Heidegger wrote Arendt on her 60th birthday: "The joyfulness of thinking will revive, of itself, always new.... But it is sufficient if it is granted a subterranean transmission, so to speak." And soon she paid a call, and was reading his books: *Kant's Thesis About Being* and *What Is Called Thinking?* and pronouncing them marvelous, and finding translators for them. She kept him abreast of Vietnam; "the best thing that could happen to this country... would be to lose the war." But she didn't tell him about her own work, about *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, or *On Revolution*, or *Men in Dark Times*, all of which had come out in German. After 1966, she emerged as a defender, though hardly an uncritical one, of Heidegger's contribution to philosophy. It was what you did for an old friend, and friendship was more important to Arendt—more important in the end than holding his past against him.

"Little more than a name was known," she wrote in a tribute called "Heidegger at Eighty" in 1969, "but the name made its way through all of Germany like the rumor of the secret king.... there was Husserl and his cry of 'to the things themselves'—that is, 'away from theories, away from books.'" But the thread of tradition was broken for Heidegger, too, and he had started over. "The rumor put it quite simply: thinking is alive again; the cultural treasures of the past, which everybody had believed dead, are being made to speak again, whereby it turns out that they are saying quite different things."

Arendt was ready to forgive Heidegger's transgressions under Hitler, but not to overlook them. "Who but Heidegger would have thought of seeing National Socialism as 'the encounter between the global technology and modern humanity,'" she wrote in her tribute, quoting from his *Introduction to Metaphysics*, "unless one had read not Hitler's *Mein Kampf* but a few writings by the Italian Futurists [as he had].... This mistake is insignificant," she went on, "compared with the far more decisive error that consisted of avoiding the reality of the Gestapo's secret rooms and the torture hells of the concentration camps, which were set up immediately after the burning of the Reichstag, in favor of supposedly higher realms." How "striking" it

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was, "and perhaps even irritating that when they got involved in human affairs, both Plato and Heidegger resorted to tyrants and Führers," which Arendt "attributed not simply to the conditions of their respective times, and even less to innate character, but, rather to what the French call a '*déformation professionelle*.'" The "tendency to the tyrannical," she noted, can be found in all the great thinkers (save Kant); and was therefore somehow diminished—a questionable conclusion that bent over backward to absolve Heidegger.

"Unlike you, I am only slightly interested in politics," Heidegger wrote on March 14, 1974, a year before they both died. "For the most part, the state of the world is clear, after all. The power inherent in the essence of technology is scarcely recognized.... The individual can no longer do anything to oppose the arrogance of the 'mass media' and the institutions—and nothing at all when it comes to uncovering the origins of thinking in ancient Greek thought." Which seemed to be all that mattered. For Arendt, it was the power of men and women, acting freely in their public capacity—for love of the world—that could bring about change. Heidegger had believed in the German *Volk*, and nothing had supplanted it in his imagination.

In *The Life of the Mind*, dedicated to Martin Heidegger, edited by Mary McCarthy and published in 1977, two years after both their deaths, Arendt turned to "The Anaximander Fragment," which was written in 1946 and appeared as the last essay of Heidegger's *Holzwege* in 1950. It contained a "changed mood [that] reflected Germany's defeat, the 'point zero'...that for a few years seemed to promise a new beginning." In Heidegger's words: "Do we stand in the very twilight of the most monstrous transformation our planet has ever undergone...? [Or] do we gaze into the evening of a night which heralds another dawn?" It was the mood that Karl Jaspers, the other philosopher in Arendt's life, expressed at a symposium in Geneva that same year: "We live as though we are knocking at gates that are still closed.... What happens today will perhaps one day found and establish a world." The mood of hope quickly disappeared in the rapidity of the economic and political recovery under the Marshall Plan, and was not to be found in Adenauer's Germany. Arendt, however, was still searching for evidence that Heidegger had once seen the light. As in the letters, a much-interrupted conversation between star-crossed lovers, the threads that connect them all are his answers, her questions. ■

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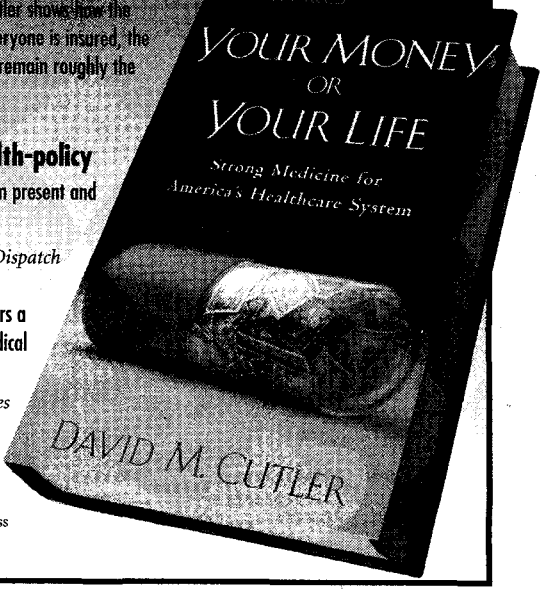

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S21: THE KHMER ROUGE KILLING MACHINE

I know, you're too hip to see *Troy*. Even if you grew up venerating some irresponsibly talented hero, a night-life Achilles such as Charlie Parker or Patti Smith, the warfare of *Troy* is not for you, no more than is the sober allegiance to an ancient text. It's a hipster tradition to prefer the contemporary and impromptu to the classic, the humanly flawed to the studio-made.

Not that there are many hipsters around, compared with the audience for *Troy*—but those few will have a grand time watching their heroes and heroines being cool in Jim Jarmusch's new film, *Coffee and Cigarettes*.

As several of Jarmusch's characters observe, coffee and cigarettes isn't any kind of lunch. In the same spirit, I might say that *Coffee and Cigarettes* delivers a buzz but isn't any kind of master narrative. It's an unabashedly modest anthology of eleven short films, the earliest of which dates from 1986, when *Saturday Night Live* invited Jarmusch to contribute to the program. He brought together actor Roberto Benigni and cinematographer Tom DiCillo (with both of whom he'd worked before) and comedian Steven Wright and created a brief, cheerfully pointless sketch in which the performers meet, smoke, abuse espresso and trade places, all the while talking past one another. Three years later, while shooting *Mystery Train* in Memphis, Jarmusch put together a second, equally shaggy episode, again working with the actors and cinematographer on hand. In 1992 came the third segment, made in a California lounge with Iggy Pop and Tom Waits. Although the pace eventually picked up—Jarmusch filmed six segments in 2003, in a two-week stretch—*Coffee and Cigarettes* still gives you the impression of something personal and casually assembled, like a scrapbook or journal kept over a long period.

It is, however, a journal kept according to rules. All the episodes are shot in black and white and take place in real time, each within a single, sparsely populated setting. All incorporate overhead shots of the table where the characters gather, and all involve the pleasures or hazards of the title substances. As for the variations among episodes: background music and decor change, different brands of cigarettes show up on the tables and the actors either do or do not appear as themselves.

In addition to the performers I've already mentioned, the self-impersonators include Jack White and Meg White of The White Stripes, GZA and RZA of Wu-Tang Clan, Isaach de Bankolé, Alex Descas, Bill Murray, Cate Blanchett and underground legend Taylor Mead. Among those who do not impersonate themselves are Steve Buscemi (very, very thinly disguised as a coffee-shop waiter in Memphis) and, once again, Cate Blanchett (who appears, through the magic of split screen, as her own deeply envious cousin). As this roster will tell you, *Coffee and Cigarettes* is a kind of no-budget backstage musical, concerned with the lives of entertainers and with the tunes that play around them. I don't know, however, whether Renée French is an entertainer or is playing herself. A conspicuously attractive and unapproachable woman who is shown sitting alone in a New York coffee shop, poring over a gun catalogue, French is explained in the press booklet only as someone who leads a mysterious life—which makes her, I suppose, the hippest character of all.

And that's the fundamental joke of *Coffee and Cigarettes*. These people who seem so wised-up, cutting-edge and flagrantly out-of-the-norm, who have gained celebrity from their idiosyncrasies (or, like French, look like they ought to be celebrities) are doing nothing special in this movie—they're just killing time. They're dope fiends whose drugs of choice are the same as everyone else's. (As Iggy Pop and Tom Waits confess to each other, the coffee's good at International House of Pancakes.) They're stars who play at being ordinary and artless (like Cate Blanchett and Alfred Molina), or anti-stars (like Taylor Mead) lost in nostalgia for a glamorous, vanished world—Paris in the

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1920s, say, or New York City in 1979.

I could tell you that this adds up to a critique of our celebrity-mad culture, or an ironic conversion of the avant-garde into the mundane, or a multitiered exploration of interpersonal power games. More to the point, though, *Coffee and Cigarettes* plays like a series of eleven eloquent shrugs, each one more droll than the last. The twelfth shrug is this review, which can't explain how Jarmusch got such inordinate fun out of the freakishly ordinary.

Maybe the IHOP coffee is worth a try. Maybe it would be OK to see *Troy*.

All right, then: Let me begin by offering thanks to God, who did not order Mel Gibson to adapt *The Iliad*. Black ships, rosy dawns, the salt sea and the high walls of Troy itself would have disappeared under his torrent of fake blood—whereas the new Warner Bros. version of the story, directed by Wolfgang Petersen, flings through men's skulls only the minimum number of spears needed to do justice to Homer, while offsetting these murders with enough panoramic views and manifestations of movie gods to give you a sense of epic sweep, if not poetry.

Chief among the movie gods in *Troy* is flowing-haired Brad Pitt, whose Achilles is first seen in a prologue episode: a little war in Thessaly, to which he shows up late because he's overslept with two, um, companions. Although Pitt is now past 40 and has gained the upper-body bulk to go with his age, he's still the perfect actor to convey the yawning, leave-me-alone attitude of Achilles performing yet another task for Agamemnon (Brian Cox), conceived here as a kind of gross, sarcastic high-school football coach whose star quarterback hates his guts. Long before Pitt's Achilles has begun to sulk, he's already radiating the disdain and laziness of a jock who is bored with winning too easily. He impiously beheads a statue of Apollo with one stroke of his sword, then saunters away with a try-and-stop-me slouch. He faces in single combat the biggest, ugliest Thessalonian you can imagine and dispatches him with an efficiency born of contempt—not for the opponent, who is just one more victim in his path, but for Agamemnon, the fat old windbag who orders everyone around. In a world of earthbound batterers, Pitt's Achilles stands out by his boldness, speed and agility. He leaps and whirls to kill.

You could resist Pitt's appeal in *Troy*, although I don't see why you'd want to. My only regret about his Achilles—and it's not the actor's fault—is that I didn't get to see him disguised among the women. Other performers in *Troy*, though, are less Homeric. As Hector, Eric Bana (*The Hulk*) reminded me of a young Victor Mature, though without the bubbling wit and astonishing range. As Helen, shining among women, Diane Kruger succeeds mostly in being blond. This is her first big movie; I question whether she'll bring to a second her forgettably perfect features and rote line readings. Her Paris, the smooth and likable Orlando Bloom, has almost nothing to play against. Priam, on the other hand, is too much for anyone else in the film. He's played by Peter O'Toole, who of course is superb, but whose presence has the distorting gravity of a star—the celestial kind—warping space and time around it.

Yet the mere fact that I can complain about the imbalance between O'Toole and the other actors testifies to a strength of *Troy*. Petersen lets his performers occupy the frame together and interact, instead of isolating them in close-ups. He also provides a real physical setting for these interactions. Although many of his grander images are computer-generated—the swarming armies, for example, or the burning towers—Petersen has been sparing with his digital effects, unlike others among today's big-budget directors. For a comparison, try looking at Stephen Sommers's *Van Helsing*—a patched-together, computer-dominated horror movie so long, loud, leaden and ersatz that it clearly was assembled not by Dr. Frankenstein but Igor.

Troy, though, despite its shortcomings, comes off as a real movie. I will be curious to learn how an America now disastrously at war in western Asia will respond to this picture about an ancient conflict in that same part of the world. How will it strike people that in this telling, the victorious invaders are a rapacious monarch and a self-infatuated killer, while the losers are on the nobler, more humane side?

I'll tell you this much: The horse is magnificent.

Short Takes: Opening at Film Forum in New York and then going into release throughout the country are two thoroughly remarkable political documentaries: *Control Room*, an inside look by Jehane Noujaim at the Al Jazeera television network, and *S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine*, an astonishingly restrained and sober account of the Cambodian genocide by Rithy Panh. The latter strikes me as the more accomplished and moving work of cinema; the former is the more urgent movie. Both demand to be seen.

Control Room seems pieced together from whatever material Noujaim was able to grab—which is to say, it suffers from its own strengths. Thanks to a combination of

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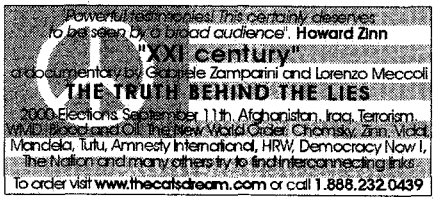
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daring and credibility, Noujaim was able to cover Al Jazeera as the network covered the Iraq war, beginning in March 2003. She filmed the headquarters staff at work in Qatar and also managed to follow the correspondents into their briefings and interviews at Central Command in Kuwait—an effort that could not possibly have yielded a comprehensive film, but did generate eighty-four minutes of assorted surprises and insights. Here is senior producer Samir Khader, determined to show the human cost of Bush's war, yet hoping to send his children to the United States to "exchange the Arab nightmare for the American dream." Here is Lieut. Josh Rushing, a press officer at Central Command, reflecting on how Al Jazeera shocked him into seeing the Iraqi casualties in a new way: "It makes me hate war." And here, captured on video, is Donald Rumsfeld, complaining of Al Jazeera that "they pretend the bombs hit the women and the children," then adding, "to the degree that people lie, they are caught lying." So he's been right about something.

S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine is an altogether more composed film—a work of art, in fact, which is no less devastating for its elegance. The filmmaker, Rithy Panh, brought two survivors of the Khmer Rouge back to S21, the prison outside Phnom Penh where they were tortured, and had them tell their stories—invaluable testimonies, since these men are among the very few who lived, out of the 17,000 inmates who passed through. The rest had confessions wrung out of them (often blatantly absurd) and were made to give up the names of as many acquaintances as they could remember, after which they were taken off and murdered. What's most amazing is that Panh also brought back several of the guards, who not only talk about what they did but act it out for the camera, in rooms that are now bare except for the occasional eerie pile of rubble. Since S21 is now a museum of genocide, the only inhabitants of these rooms are the photos of the victims, who stare at you everywhere in this horrific, utterly necessary film. ■

EVENTS

NATIONAL

URPE Summer Conference

■Right-wing Coup, or Neoliberalism as Usual? Friday, June 4–Monday, June 7. Camp Chinqueka, Bantam, CT. Plenaries include: "Neoliberalism at Home—Right-Wing Escalation?" with Nomi Prins and Doug Henwood; "Global Neoliberalism—Is It Different Under Bush & Post-9/11?" with Ilene Grabel, Gerard Dumenil and Greg Wilpert; "Resistance to Neoliberal Capitalism," with Cyndi Milstein, Mike McGuire and Ashanti Alston; and the David Gordon Lecture: "Communicating Political Economy," by Ann Markusen. Camp Chinqueka, located in the mountains of northwestern Connecticut, provides opportunities for swimming, boating, tennis, basketball, soccer, volleyball and hiking. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806. Visit our website: www.urpe.org.

NEW YORK

A Gathering of The TRIBES

■Tribes magazine, Tribes Gallery, Fly By Night Press. Literary readings, music, performances now available. *Ovarian Twists: New and Selected Poems* by Anyssa Kim, $14, published by Fly By Night Press, a subsidiary of A Gathering of the Tribes, Inc. *A Gathering of the Tribes* magazine, issue #10, $12.50, is at quality bookstores in your area, or order directly from Tribes, PO Box 20693, Tompkins Square Station, New York, NY 10009, info@tribes.org, www.tribes.org, (212) 674-8262. Every month, Tribes Gallery presents excellent art shows from the perspective of diversity. Call for appointment. Hours 12–6 PM, Tuesday–Sunday. We are at 285 East 3rd Street (between Avenues C and D), 2nd floor.

Rouge Forum

■Rouge Forum Institute on Education and Society at LeMoyne College in Syracuse, NY, June 24–27. Join us! RougeForum.org.

How Class Works Conference

■Stony Brook University. June 10–12. Class is ever more obvious as a force shaping public policy and our lives and life chances. The "How Class Works" conference explores ways in which an explicit recognition of class helps us to understand the social world in which we live. Speakers include: Walden Bello, Medea Benjamin, Congressman David Bonior, Heather Boushey, Gene Bruskin, Jefferson Cowie, Thea Lee, Jack O'Dell, Adolph Reed, Leslie Sklair, Joan Williams and 150 others. Presentations from: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Italy, South Africa, Thailand, Britain and the United States. See full program and register online at www.workingclass.sunysb.edu or call Stony Brook University Office of Conferences and Special Events, (631) 632-6320. Sponsored by the Center for Study of Working Class Life, Michael.Zweig@stonybrook.edu. AA/EOE.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Monday. Rates: $150 for up to 50 words; $225 for up to 75 words. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

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BEWARE THE ATTIC OF THE MIND. *Attic Access*, a novel. Go to www.atticaccess.net.

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PREDATORY BENDER: A novel and essay on Wall Street's loan sharks, which FS&G's Paul Elie calls "a brilliant act of subversion." Amazon.com and InnerCityPress.org.

LA'S 1940s ÉMIGRÉS, MARXIST AND OTHERWISE: Daniel Melnick's *Hungry Generations*, a novel about music, written "with passion and wryness" (Thomas Flanagan). Amazon.com.

WHO WE ARE, INDIVIDUALLY and collectively, is determined by how we relate to fear. www.thomrutledge.com.

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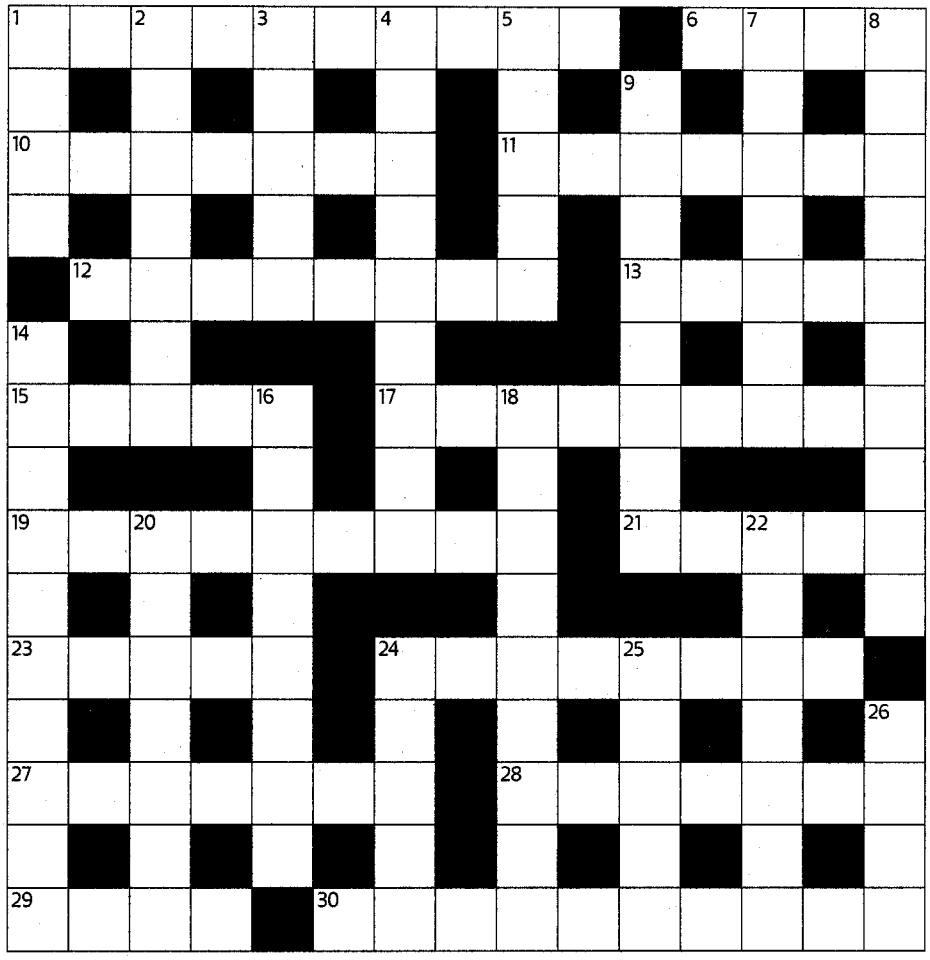

ACROSS

1 Not one who mails the dunning notices, although he might be involved in a stick-up. (4-6)

6 Going over a way to find something, but this simply could be a record. (4)

10 They evidently didn't have much to say in this old place. (7)

11 The remainder gets not quite full, but such surroundings make it easy for you. (7)

12 Move with some difficulty, but to no purpose, clearly. (8)

13 A hairstyle associated with Mr. Reagan, showing movement which should be fairly active. (5)

15 Comes closer to being what the cockney might have around his yard. (5)

17 Get somewhat tired with your organization of helpers? Go to AZ for it. (9)

19 One that imitates most sincerely? (Even more so, a word of hesitation would show it!) (9)

21 The way the Caribbean casts a spell? (5)

23 Earth-shattering bravery, as they say. (5)

24 About due, as they say, for revelry—though one doesn't have to get drunk! (4,4)

27 A promiscuous woman who didn't quite make it as an author? (7)

28 Boats get wrecked, but a little firm finish would make it pretty hot stuff! (7)

29 and **30** When they get thrown overboard, certain people might be grateful, and perverse fliers—very perverse—prove it! (4,10)

DOWN

1 It should be easy to get to bail out of here! (4)

2 One can't win when given a thing that might seal the envelope. (7)

3 To get such as Grable, make up a pun under a type of ratio. (5)

4 Takes the place of what one does with the National Anthem. (6,3)

5 One of the Civil War generals was evidently before his time. (5)

7 A child and a foreign queen at the same time. (7)

8 and **26** Decide not to have frankfurters, and take out the trackers. (4,3,3,4)

9 The main part of the state's press often could be put in a cup. (8)

14 Cheese fit for a lunch fete. (10)

16 Takes a position on the money box, as a restless child never will. (3,5)

18 Rare goats at play, as one puts things aside. (9)

20 The exit from the stage might be far removed from it. (1,3,3)

22 All together! Let's put bad men on the stormy seas! (2,5)

24 Is one with a line of goods to sell all het up? (5)

25 One who takes the Underground in London may turn out to be a vegetable! (5)

26 See 8

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2942

■	S	P	I	C	K	A	N	D	■	S	P	A	N	■
F	■	A	■	A	■	W	■	U	■	E	■	V	■	S
L	E	W	I	S	■	A	N	D	■	C	L	A	R	K
A	■	N	■	K	■	Y	■	S	■	O	■	I	■	I
G	A	S	P	E	D	■	F	■	A	N	K	L	E	D
■	■	■	■	T	A	I	L	E	N	D	■	■	■	D
O	V	E	R	■	M	■	U	■	T	■	E	T	U	I
U	■	V	■	I	S	H	M	A	E	L	■	H	■	N
T	R	E	K	■	E	■	M	■	N	■	B	E	R	G
R	■	■	■	A	L	T	O	O	N	A	■	■	■	■
I	D	E	A	L	S	■	X	■	A	N	D	F	A	R
G	■	C	■	A	■	H	■	S	■	D	■	E	■	A
H	I	L	L	S	■	A	P	T	■	R	E	R	U	N
T	■	A	■	K	■	L	■	A	■	E	■	A	■	T
■	S	T	O	A	■	F	A	R	E	W	E	L	L	■

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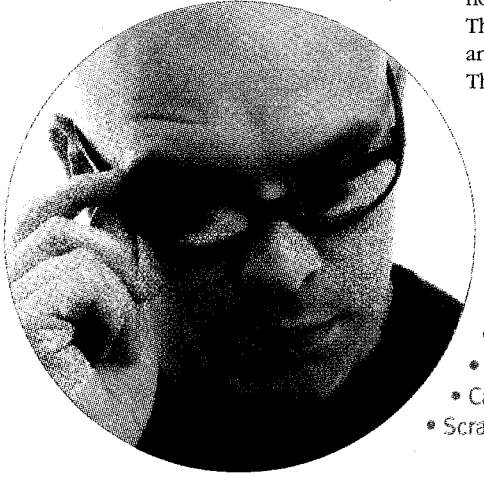

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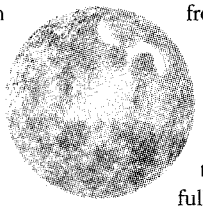

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How the Right Wing Is Turning America into a One-Party State

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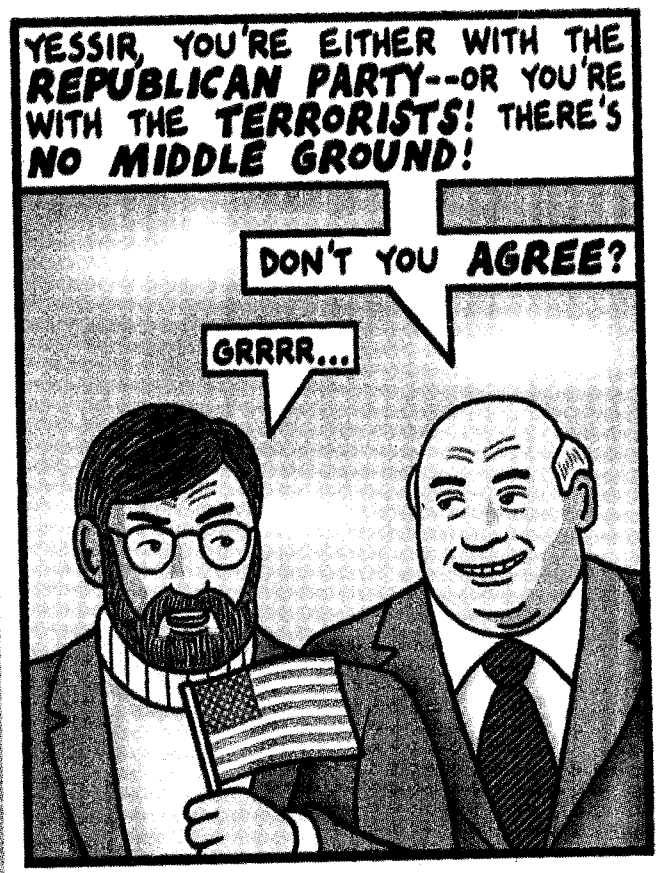
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